



GERMANY'S NEW NAZIS

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PREFACE

began to be the subject of vigorous controversy, events have moved fast and over an extensive field. The Washington and Declarations of the autumn of 1951 are the culmination of the German Federal Republic into the political, military, and conomic complex of Western Europe.

When controversy over this question gathered momentum in the spring and early summer of 1951, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Anglo-Jewish Association became acutely conscious of the paucity of reliable information on the facts of West Germany's political colour, and especially on the relative importance of the non-Nazi groups. It was therefore decided to commission this brooklet and thus to give, in a simple but reasonably comprehensive form, the salient aspects of the subject.

How stable is the democratic fabric of post-war Germany? To what extent are Germans still permeated with the virus of the Third Reich? What is the significance of neo-Nazi electoral necesses? Does the creation of the League of German Soldiers represent a danger to the well-being of German democracy? These and other questions are discussed in this booklet.

The main burden of the work of preparing the booklet was delegated to a well-known journalist, now foreign correspondent of a national daily newspaper, who has spent a considerable time in Germany since the war. It is recognised that some of the expressions of opinion are contentious, and it should be pointed out that they are not necessarily the opinions of the Anglo-Jewish Association. Inasmuch as the booklet will stimulate discussion and thought on a vitally important subject, it is, however, within the miditions of the Anglo-Jewish Association to sponsor it.

The Foreign Affairs Committee is indebted to a number of people for their advice and criticism, but would like to express

special thanks to Professor Norman Bentwich, O.B.E., M.C., Dr. F. Goldschmidt, of the United Restitution Office, Mr. H. A. Goodman, J.P., Mr. J. M. Japp, Mr. Neville Laski, K.C., Mrs. Ilse Lowenthal, Mrs. Eva Reichmann, Mr. Eric Stenton, and Dr. Alfred Wiener and the staff of the Wiener Library.

ROWLAND LANDMAN,

Chairman,

Foreign Affairs Committee, A.J.A

CHAPTER 1

WEST GERMANY'S INFANT DEMOCRACY

Y 1945 twelve years of Nazi rule had destroyed the multitudinous political, professional, religious, artistic, recreational, and other group social threads, out of which the democratic atole of a country is woven. In their place a national structure, unposed of individuals torn from normal group relationships and attlicially fused into one single national-ideological body, had been used. When that body crumbled to dust before the might of the latted Nations, the German public, as a political entity, was—so a speak—atomised. Each person was thrown back on his own adividual resources, without the reinforcement of any group ling. Painfully and hesitantly the Germans have since been trying to weave the threads of democratic life anew.

What is now the democracy of Western Germany was born in the rubble, hunger, and bewilderment of a defeated nation. This for from auspicious birth was made the more difficult by the fact that the greater part of administrative and technical expertise on which a State must rely in order to govern was compromised by Mari affiliations. While a rough-and-ready attempt was made, through the de-Nazification Tribunals, to sift the true Nazi from the ordinary run of willy-nilly fellow-travellers, the Occupation Powers to some extent filled the gap with their own personnel. An soon as possible, however, a growing amount of administrative responsibility was put into German hands. As the months went by this was done at an increasing rate, which made correspondingly greater demands on qualified Germans. Thus, it was inevitable for the de-Nazification process to become more and more a bad joke, whether the fact was welcomed by German public opinion or not. The result has been that the functionaries of the new Germany are, in too many cases, uncertain in their loyalty to democratic ways.

This somewhat unstable political institution was, from the very first, subjected to a series of tremendous strains. All the victorious nowers were unanimous about the necessity for a democratic

Germany in the centre of Europe. But the conception of the wor "democratic," on the part of one of them, involved the buildin up of a monolithic one-party State in the Eastern Zone, togethe with all the oppressive appendages of totalitarian Communist rul including 100 per cent subservience to Moscow in all question great and small. Even the Western Allies differed on importation issues regarding the sort of system they would have liked the Germans to build up. The Occupation Powers were, consequently all telling the Germans to be good democrats, but were preaching different democratic gospel in each of the Occupation Zone.

The advent of the Cold War—with its attendant dangerou incidents such as the blockade of Berlin—made the situation at the more confused. In Western Germany, inevitably, opposition to Communism came to be regarded as a sufficient qualification for the title of "democrat." In the Eastern Zone a similar attitude with the rôles reversed, was being developed with a conscious cynicism by the Russians.

In the light of these strains and with the memories of the catastrophic collapse of the Weimar Republic in 1933 at the back of its mind it would, indeed, have been surprising if German democracy had not developed into a sickly child.

What, in fact, is its state of health to-day? At this point a glance at the political structure and its international setting is necessary.

THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

The Republic of Western Germany is a federation of eleven Länder, two of which, Bremen and Hamburg, are independent cities. The word "Land" can be translated either as Province (as in Canada) or State (as in the U.S.A.). (West Berlin has an ambiguous status. It is not a Land, although it is represented in Bonn.)

Each Land has its own parliament and government. It raises its own taxes, has its own police force, and has considerable economic control within its own territory.

The Länder came into being in 1946. The Federal Republic itself was not formed until 1949, only after the Four-Power Occupational Control had completely broken down. It controls the post, railways, and police forces for special duties (e.g., frontier control). It raises various taxes (including income tax), and in many fields the

tribion between the Land and the Federal Republic is obscure, to making, and the subject of constant argument.

The Lower House of the Republic is elected directly on a limited of proportional representation for four years. The Upper House (Federal Council) consists of representatives directly repointed by the Länder Governments—usually the Land Prime Muster and some of his colleagues. It meets relatively much less that the Lower House, its assent is necessary for all laws, and its function is to safeguard the rights of the Länder. Its opposition of Dr. Adenauer's well-known centralising tendencies has been expressed in the selection of its Presidents. The first was Karl Arnold, of North Rhine Westphalia, who opposes Adenauer inside the Christian Democrat Party.

The Basic Law (which serves as the Federal Constitution) has aimed to produce a stable government. It has concentrated considerable power in the hands of the Chancellor (or Federal Prime Minister). He is appointed on a vote of the Lower House; and thereafter he forms his government as seems fit to him.

This has the effect, at any rate by Adenauer's interpretation, of making him an autocrat who runs a cabinet of lieutenants. Collective cabinet responsibility has little meaning in the Federal Republic. To call the government "Dr. Adenauer's administration" is literally true.

Considering the difficulties which attended its birth the Federal Constitution has not worked badly. The Germans, of course, have preat experience of the federal form of government; even Hitler never quite succeeding in abolishing the remnants of local self-movernment.

At present, however, a large number of Germans (both Right and Left) believe that the federation is too loose. Centralism is not necessarily a danger in itself. Although Hitler was a great centraliser, he rose as a local leader and his new disciples also seem to thrive on localised politics. Excessive federalism creates bridgeheads where nationalist fanatics can consolidate themselves before expanding their activities from the local to the national scale.

DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

Although slightly less strong in the Federal Parliament (elected in 1949) the Social Democratic Party of Germany is almost certainly the strongest party in the country to-day.

Like most Continental Socialist parties the German part the Right, and abandon the classic Socialist-Christian Democrat accepts a great deal of what Karl Marx taught. In fact Germa altion pattern of the Länder. Socialists strongly oppose the Communist claim to be the on the chose as his first partner the Free Democrat Party, led by true exponents of Marxism. Their policy may be summed up as the Bluecher and Theodor Heuss. Originally the party—strong the Welfare State, controls over production and distribution tentral Germany—had been secular, liberal, and free-enterprise

mined organisation than its predecessor in the Weimar Republication anationalist-inclined party, representing the viewpoint of This it owes, in great measure, to its leader—Dr. Kurt Schumache administrational people. In some parts of man of iron will who are to its leader—Dr. Kurt Schumache administrational statistics. —a man of iron will, who grew to believe from his long experienc lumany it has become a convenient cover for nationalist activities as a Socialist that compromise with the "bourgeois" parties was all a more suspect flavour. Social Democracy's total weakness in the face of the Nazi threa

is Dr. Adenauer's Christian Democrat Party, which is actually tomoromy under the Guelf royal family. Its appeal is therefore combination of the North Company of the North Compan combination of the North German Christian Democratic Union timited and, outside the boundaries of the old State of Hanover, and the Bayarian Christian Social III in the Served as a and the Bavarian Christian Social Union. The latter group different is regarded as rather comic. Nevertheless, it has served as a

led by Dr. Adenauer and a Left, or trade unionist wing, which looks to Karl Arnold, Premier of North Rhine Westphalia. The two wings work uneasily together, the Left being in many ways Socialist in its views, while the Right believes in laisser-faire and the minimum State control.

together Catholic miners in the Ruhr, Protestants in Central discretion through the so-called "reserved powers" exercised by Germany, and the Conservative Catholics of Bavaria. In fact the Catholic influence predominates, especially since the resignation of the Protestant Federal Minister of the Interior, Herr Heinemann, officials and those of the Allied High Commissioners' offices on who could not agree with Adenauer over the question of

It is a mixed team, but its very looseness makes it necessary for a strong man to run it. That man is Adenauer and, by and large, the party does what he tells it, although there are few issues on which all sections agree. It is Adenauer who has given the party its uncompromisingly conservative, free enterprise tinge.

It was Dr. Adenauer who decided in 1949 to make his coalition

workers' participation in the direction of industry, and nationalism in policy. Since Professor Heuss became Federal President his The post-war German Socialist Party is a much more determinatently to the Right. It can now, with little exaggeration, be

Schumacher, who paid for his opinions in Hitler's concentration of enterprise German Party. This party has little power outside The strongest party however in the communists ower Saxony, where it appealed to conservative separatists who The strongest party, however, in the present Federal Parliamen in theory at any rate, that there should be Hanoverian from the former only in its belief in a greater degree of freedom metal rallying point for less sentimental and tradition-ridden for the Länder The Christian Democrat Party has two wings: a Right wing metal cover for nationalists, though by now that sort of support all have found more congenial parties to vote for.

A SOVEREIGN STATE?

Since 1945 the German authorities—both Federal and Land— Christian religious conviction is the binding force which holds the responsibility. However, the Allies still retained a wide the High Commissioners. At many levels of the administrative specific issues; and though the Allies have become increasingly reluctant to exercise their powers actively, those powers remain, at any rate in theory, a potential restraint on the exercise of undisputed sovereignty by the Federal Government.

Needless to say, Germans of various political persuasions, Left and Right, have repeatedly expressed their dissatisfaction at this state of affairs, and have argued that Bonn should be released from such restriction. The answer of Western opinion hitherto

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can be roughly summed up as follows: "You Germans are work your passage home. We note your views not without sympathy a understanding. But we think that, in the light of all that I happened in the last eighteen years, we are not yet entirely satisf that German democracy is as yet sufficiently stable or mature make it safe for us to give these reserved powers up." In the I analysis, Germany remained occupied enemy territory and the irritating though such a reaction undoubtedly was for ma Germans, they had to swallow the pill with such grace as the could muster.

But an entirely new situation has developed out of the ebb a flow of the cold war. The building up of the defence measures the North Atlantic Treaty Powers has raised the question of whole, if any, should be played in the defence arrangements of the Western Powers by the Federal Republic, whose territory, after a must constitute N.A.T.O.'s first line of defence. Albeit with material managements have thereupon agreed that an approach should made to Bonn with a view to exploring the possibility of Germa troops being raised and equipped for the defence of Western Europ A consequence of this decision was the Washington Declaration of September, 1951, which announced the intention of the Allies seek a Contractual Arrangement with Bonn for the ending of the State of War which then legally existed between them.

A further and vital stage of the German return to Statehood was reached on November 21st in Paris, when at a meeting between Mr. Schumann and Mr. Acheson with Dr. Adenauer, the draw of a general agreement between their four Governments was approved. This stated, first that the Occupation Statute, with it powers of intervention in the domestic affairs of the Federa the offices of the Land Commissions will be abolished; and, second that the three Powers will retain only such special rights as cannot be renounced because of the special international situation of Germany, and which it is in the common interest of the four States of retain.

At the time of going to press (December, 1951) negotiations or various matters of detail are still in progress. These include the extremely important question of restitution to the millions who suffered at Germany's hands during the war, as well as the future

displaced persons and the programme of decartelisation of man industry. On broad issues, however, agreement is reported have been reached. The only powers which the Allies will reserve a themselves are those connected with questions affecting a future unlive Peace Treaty-i.e., relations with Russia, issues affecting arminy as a whole (East and West) and, finally, factors involving mountity of the Allied forces. The Allies have even abdicated the exclusive control of German armaments production. At of October the State of War between the United States and terminy was officially declared by Washington to be at an end. In future, therefore, the democratic Powers will be represented Houn by diplomatic representatives with little legal power to mortere in German affairs except by the consent of the Bonn invernment. The presence of Allied troops on German soil would, it true, make possible the ultimate sanction of force, if the Internal situation deteriorated sufficiently for this to be necessary. that again, considering that it is the Allies who are doing the wooing, an eventuality can be safely discounted, and the bald fact med that whether or not Western opinion is satisfied on the nability of West German democracy, the Federal Republic will hortly in a large measure assume all the rights-and duties-of a overeign, independent democratic State.

CHAPTER II

DEMOCRATIC FORCES

First, there is the massive force of the trade unions. T impressive success of Western Germany's trade union movement rebuilt from scratch since the war, is due partly to the personali of the late Dr. Boeckler, first President of the German Trade Unio Federation, and partly to the determination of the German worke and 1950 been no important strike about wages or conditions. not to repeat the mistakes of Weimar. Boeckler, a silversmith but when the coal and steel workers were asked whether they trade, was a trade unionist who survived Hitler's Reich. In 194 and strike in order to preserve their right to see that industrial at the age of 70 he set about rebuilding the movement which had mor was not abused for political ends (for that is the root of the been destroyed in 1932 circumstance with the movement which had mor was not abused for political ends (for that is the root of the replied: "Yes." been destroyed in 1933. Sixteen major unions, mostly based of

The new movement was advised by the British T.U.C., and from the beginning it avoided the fundamental error of earlie to trade unions are a remarkably stabilising influence in the German trade unionism-separate political and religious unions Weimar had three major groups of unions, Catholic, Socialist, and Communist; and other parties, including the Nazis, were also active and Nazism greater.

The present movement is unified and, although Boeckler was a Socialist, it has remained independent of the two major parties -Christian Democrats and Socialists. Both parties have trade unionists in them; indeed, the Christian Democrat Left wing derives its strength from Catholic trade unionists. (Karl Arnold, Christian Democrat Prime Minister of North Rhine Westphalia, is both trade unionist and Catholic.)

The major achievement of the German trade unions was bringing Workers Co-partnership in Industry to the Statute Book. Ever since the First World War German trade unionists had

and of controlling the savage forces of German heavy industry appointing workers' representatives to the boards of directors. dream came true when the British Occupation authorities, and ling the Ruhr coal and steel industries, gave German workers al representation with management in running the coal, iron. 1 seel industry.

the persistent argument, by pressure through Christian Democrat CUCH is the child which the Western Powers are now about the of a coal and steel strike, the unions under Boeckler's launch in the great wide world on his own. Will West Germ the hip forced Dr. Adenauer to confirm Allied practice in a democracy make good? Certainly there are solid element them! Law. Workers' co-partnership is now safeguarded for the making for optimism, which it is important to tabulate before in coal and steel. Boeckler intended that the principle should extended to the other main industries, and it probably will, though he has not lived to see it.

One of the reasons for believing in the fundamental good sense democratic convictions of the average German trade unionist the heavy industries, emerged, having over five million members his vigorous decision so startled their opponents (mainly in the Democrat Party) that there was little more argument.

deral Republic. They are more powerful than under the Weimar apublic. Their experience is now wider and their determination to

Georg Reuter, Deputy Chairman of the Deutsche Gewerkhaltsbund (German T.U.C.), recently attacked the new Nazis. hose danger and significance will be described later. He said:

. that trade union leaders had told the Chancellor: "if these hobgoblins are not done away with we shall take action. We did not build up our workshops and cities again to see them sacrificed once more to the insanity of people like that." The Chancellor could rely on the trade unions, but they would also keep a wary eve on the Government's attitude towards these people. (Reported in the Wiener Library Survey of German and Austrian Press.)

The robust reaction of the leaders towards the Nazi threat is aralleled in the action taken by the members. Trade unionists

have consistently opposed meetings given by neo-Nazi parties butory of the Third Reich—not to think of the fight against they are wrong, and that democracy would not suffer more if a Huler's Germany. acquiesced. We cannot blame them if they are determined no very encouraging facet of the churches' work is to be found frequently blamed for the debacle of 1933.

of harbouring a sneaking sympathy for neo-Nazi ideas. Of uncelly applicable to German needs. In fact, Germans in the Christian Democrats, like Dr. Adenauer, are so conservative merican Zone have shown a marked tendency to absorb American instinct that they tip the scales against the progressive wing of bothods and outlook. They will probably adapt this form of party which is firmly grounded in the Catholic working class. Thirous-civic co-operation to their own requirements, and the trade unions and the best elements of the Catholic Church in the should be of great benefit to the strengthening of the Rhine and Ruhr valleys—these are ballast to the Christ mocratic fibre of Western Germany. Democrats, keeping it fundamentally democratic in spite of so. The fourth factor is the press. Here Allied policy has, broadly dangerous vote-catching political manœuvres.

socialists seem to be things of the past. This is a clear case the basis of whether it helps or hinders the growth of German extreme nationalists have taken advantage of it.

the churches and religious organisations. Unfortunately, although the Frankfurter Hefte, Die Gegenwart, and the Deutsche they have done much good work, it has been marred by Iapsa Rundschau. and, above all, there has been a tendency-surprising in view

may be easy to disapprove of their actions, which often lead that as a prime need in the present situation. Nevertheless, violence and break up the neo-Nazi meetings. It is an open question its extreme embarrassment at the East-West split, the whether democracy suffers thereby. But before public opinion annalical Church has put a great deal of effort into its work, the West condemns these German workers let us be quite a thinlarly in recalling the attention of its members to the evil

make the mistake of the previous generation of German in the societies for Christian-Jewish co-operation. They exist mainly unionists, by according democratic good manners to oppone the American Zone as a result of the initiative of General Clay determined on the brutal suppression of democracy. For, let it was U.S. Governor). These Protestant-Catholic-Jewish associaremembered, the trade unionists of the Weimar Republic in have set themselves the task of overcoming racial and religious interance through all the media at their disposal. They were The second great force for democracy lies within the two lar under the guidance of an American minister Carl Zietlow, parties, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats. F whose tremendous energy they owe much of their success. have had lapses of electioneering irresponsibility, and there interiors and Jews in Britain may be inclined to wonder whether elements among the Christian Democrats which are deeply sus a mewhat spirited transatlantic flavour of some of the activities

working, justified itself. After 1945 new papers were created, and Many of the first Länder governments elected after the verifies of journalists trained who, now that they have complete were coalitions between the Christian Democrats and the Socialic literial freedom, have maintained a fairly sound democratic and in those days divisions were not sharp. By 1949, hower minde. As with all other sides of life there have been lapses. There deep personal antagonism between the national leaders of the total also been a good deal of intellectual confusion, while new parties, Dr. Schumacher and Dr. Adenauer, made a similarpers of extremely suspect origins and policy are beginning to coalition in Bonn impossible. This may prove to have been a groppear. But on straight issues like the re-emergence of Nazi political tragedy for the Federal Republic, for Dr. Adenauer, in order privities the major German papers have shown up well. A few form his government, found questionable allies on his Right. Topers have stood out like beacons above the others in their relentpowerful coalitions of moderate conservatives and democra in insistence that every political question must be judged on democratic disunity; and, as will be shown later, the ex-Nazis a homocracy. Notably there are the Left-wing Frankfurter Rundschau, he conservative Die Zeit, the American-licensed Neue Zeitung, and The third force which should be solidly behind democracy a be Süddeutsche Zeitung. Among periodicals the outstanding ones

The fifth force for democracy is the whole apparatus of

education, which includes democratic youth movements. Large win the faith of the average German for the new and still here are as frequent as anywhere. Undecided policy or company that unfamiliar pattern of democratic government. lack of it have allowed shocking abuses to occur. Danger it is this average German who, in the mass, makes up the

It must be recorded with sadness that the educational system Western Germany is not at the moment turning out democration It is always hard to convince young people that the trial and e methods of democracy are best. In Germany it seems near impossible. Observers do not feel that the majority of boys girls leaving school and young people leaving the universities actually antagonistic to democracy. But they are not positively it, and this must be accounted an educational failure.

Communism, in the form of the Free German Youth Moveme makes its greatest conquests in just these age groups, and w the experience of 1933 behind us, it is not difficult to see how the young people might, in similar circumstances, easily swing over a revived Nazi Party. Here is something that the German authorities however distracted by other matters, could be expected to tackle once. Some good starts, it is true, have been made. There is, f instance, a small book issued by the Hamburg school authorit for study in the top forms of elementary schools and given as leaving present to the pupils. It is called "The Great Message In an effective way, through pictures, poems, and quotations from great works of literature it tells its readers that their object must to preserve peace, establish democracy, and further the cause tolerance. Sincerely presented by the teachers, this is an invaluable work. It cannot be said, however, that German education authorities are doing anything like sufficient on these lines.

The sixth asset which democracy has on its side is that severa men of great distinction in the Federal Republic are sincere and devoted democrats. The best and most obvious example is the Federal President, Professor Theodor Heuss. He is a liberal in the fullest sense of the word, and one of those rare men to whom the word good genuinely applies. He has, for instance, become an active sponsor of the work of the societies for Christian-Jewish co-operation and in the autumn of 1951, on the occasion of the Jewish New Year, joined with Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher in sending greetings to German Jews (see page 55). Such men

ex-Nazis and Nazi sympathisers have become schoolmasters appelly which votes for the democratic parties. He is the basis the trade unions and the churches. Often muddled, he wants to a pacifist but fears the East; he wants liberty but fears it may my economic hardship; and, finally, he wants the best for his mily but cannot choose between the multitude of remedies Sometimes when things are hard, he has a tendency to mute democracy with inflation and depression, and when it is alled that Weimar democracy saw the mark inflate beyond imprehension and unemployment bring Germany almost to a and till, this tendency must be counted among the major al nesses of the attempt to build democracy anew. Post-1945 mocracy, moreover, has made heavy headway against the addless of unemployment and refugees, while the chronic housing the makes life a nightmare for many in the bombed cities.

That so many Germans, on the other hand, do appreciate that mocracy in their country has always had to clear up the chaos by bouts of aggression and that it is the last bout which possible for the present troubles is clearly a hopeful sign. levertheless, so long as the housing shortage, the high cost of the fear of losing one's job, the bisection of Germany into Communist East and a democratic West with its attendant refugee millems, and the nagging fear of war continue, faith in democratic ways must always be subject to dangerous strains and open to indermining on the part of the new Nazis.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIALIST REICH PARTY

TECOND only to the Stalinist threat from the East, the rec revival of Nazi and near-Nazi groups is the biggest sin danger facing West Germany's democracy; of these most formidable is the Socialist Reich Party.

The Socialist Reich Party is one of the most recent of extremist parties of the Right. It has shown itself to be an efficivote-gathering machine. Because of its blatant nationalism a appeals to Nazi sentiment, it has clarified and drawn attention the danger from the Right in Germany. For this reason democratic counter-attack should give this group close attention yet at the same time it should not be forgotten that there are of extreme nationalist organisations which may prove ultimately be just as dangerous.

THE LOWER SAXONY ELECTIONS, MAY, 1951

the Socialist Reich Party gained 16 seats and 11 per cent of the lothes to exchange for food which only the peasants, albeit votes. Ten years after the First World War Hitler had gaine illumity, could provide. It was the period when, according to the only three per cent of the votes cast for the Reichstag. Junior humour of the townspeople, there were Persian carpets in comparison between the Socialist Reich Party votes and those the pipsties. Bleaker times began for the peasants in 1948 when the the National Socialist Party on a national scale is not possible unency was revalued. The new dollar-backed deutschemark was the Socialist Reich Party had not yet been founded.

Lower Saxony, until now ruled by a Socialist-Christian Democrat coalition, is the second largest Land in the British Zone towernment, foreign food began to flow into Western Germany. It stretches from Göttingen in the south to Cuxhaven and Emden in the townspeople, at last able to pick and choose, turned towards the north; from the Dutch border in the west to Brunswick and the superior foreign products, and the peasant, for the first Lüneburg in the east. The capital is Hanover. It is one of the time in 15 years, found himself exposed to competition. His poorest Länder in Germany, having a high proportion of East me conomical holdings and inefficient methods penalised him in German refugees and what has been called the worst depressed area the competition with Dutch and Danish producers. His anger is In Western Germany, centring on the former Hermann Goering directed against the free-enterprise conservatives in Bonn (the Iron and Steel Works at Salzgitter. In the south the countryside is a finistian Democrats, the Free Democrats, and the German Party) worked by small, predominantly Catholic peasants. In the north who let in cold air from the world market. They lost the peasant's Protestant. On the Luneburg Heath there are some of the largest and an end to the American-type liberalism of Bonn.

Western Germany. It was here, in the flat, Protestant that the the Socialist Reich Party campaigned hardest and med most. The party won most votes in an area where a higher portion of the arable land is held by large farms than anywhere In Western Germany. It did best among the richer peasants and There is no evidence that it received any considerable quantion of the refugees' votes, most of whom appear to have reported the Refugee Party (B.H.E.), which won 16 per cent the votes cast. In Salzgitter, a working-class area of economic pression and higher unemployment, the combined Right-wing tell and the Socialist candidate had a comfortable majority. The Socialist Reich Party obviously did not have the confidence and hive number of refugees or unemployed industrial workers. toller it collected peasant votes in an historically reactionary area. them from the orthodox conservative parties which form Mount Coalition. The peasants in Lower Saxony, as elsewhere training, fared very well under the Nazis, who treated them as puttleged caste. Their good fortune continued after the collapse. 1945-48 widespread hunger and a practically worthless At these elections, six years after the defeat of the Nazi Reich heur remaining wealth. The townspeople brought jewels, furniture, because when the Federal Parliament Elections were held in 1949 morphable currency to food producers outside Germany, particuhaly in Holland and Denmark.

the peasant holdings are much larger and the population largely tote. The Socialist Reich Party picked it up by promising protection

the figures on the opposite page show that the only marked
the Left in the May, 1951, elections was a proportionately
loss for the small group of Communists. The Socialists and
The string Catholics of the Centre Party suffered little change. On
the two newcomers, the Refugee B.H.E. and the Neo-
lead mortalist Reich Party made considerable gains. The losers were
10 11 am Coalition partners, the Christian Democrats and the Ger-
Harry (strongly conservative with a dash of Hanoverian
hoststifm). The third Bonn partner, the Free Democrats (F.D.P.),
my word slightly over its 1949 figures after a highly nationalist
imputes on an independent ticket. The German Reich Party
manufactive ultra-nationalist), which sent five members to the
boal Parliament in 1949, lost heavily, its votes going to the more
Attend and more Right-wing Socialist Reich Party.
therewere report that the compaign was notable for the Light

Observers report that the campaign was notable for the highly intomalistic tone of all the campaigning parties. Of the moderate more rative Bonn Coalition parties, only the one which dissociated the from the democratic principles of the Federal Capital—the Democrats—held its ground. For the rest the Right-wing votes I lower Saxony went looking for more and more nationalism and haved a growing preference for neo-Nazi socialism as against free morprise conservatism. Great numbers of refugees have founded party appealing specifically to them—the B.H.E.—though its policy is still unclear. The big peasants of Luneberg Heath—good in the Third Reich and the finest N.C.O.s in the German have taken out an option on the newest and most radical the groups claiming to carry on where Hitler left off—the Socialist to the Party.

THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIALIST REICH PARTY

As will be shown, examining statements of this party's policy to a confusing business. A better idea of its outlook is gained by lost examining its leaders. They were all Nazis and none of them are ashamed of the fact.

Otto Ernst Remer (39).

Remer is the second Chairman and feature orator of the party—the noise of the S.R.P. but not its brain (*Picture Post*, 16.6.51). He is a tall man with a fanatical expression who moulds his oratory in Hitler, but has a curious resemblance to Goebbels.

NY	Seats in Landton		gamed		9-	- 1	6 -2	Not contesting +21			-22	-	ntesting +1	itesting +3	testing + 16	-
WER SAXO	Seats	1951		,				21 Not co	-	35		12 13	1 Not contesting	3 Not contesting	16 Not contesting	
PARTIES AND VOTES IN LOWER SAXONY	Percentage of votes cast	1949 Federal Parliament Flertion	Пополи	3,1	33.4	c.	to V	Sulfesting 10.1		35.4	7.5		roc contesting	200	Not contesting	electoral bloc colled
TES AND	Percentage	1951 (Landtag Election)		1.8	33.7	3,3	14.9			23.8	8.4	00			0.11	1 1951 formed an
PART		Party		Communists (K.P.)	Socialists (S.P.D.)	Centre Party (Zentrum)	Refugee Party (B.H.E.)	Christian Democrats and	German Party* (C.D.U. & D.P.)	:	Free Democrats (F.D.P.)	German Social Party (D.S.P.)	German Reich Party § (D.R. P.)	Socialist Reich Party (S.R.P.)	*Campaigned separately in 1047	SCalled German Rich, In 1951 formed an electoral plor realist to

He entered the Reichswehr (Army of the Weimar Republic) a figure to reactionary ex-soldiers of the present the rank of major and at the time of the attempted assassination and the groups like the Vehme were in Weimar days and who, a He appears to have been party to the conspiracy, though only the vote of the 100 per cent unrepentant Nazis. its fringes. When he had satisfied himself that Hitler had surviv the attempt, he put the plans for the coup d'état into rever arrested many of the resistance leaders (most of whom we subsequently tortured to death), and held Berlin for Hitler un the arrival of S.S. reinforcements.

Hitler rewarded his loyalty by promoting him to the rank major-general. After this he became known as a last-ditch Na fanatic. But reliable evidence seems to show that in the end I deserted his division on the River Elbe in May, 1945, got in of Independent Germans at Godesberg.

He was discovered by Dr. Fritz Dorls, who was then a member of the Federal Parliament, belonging to the extreme conservative for him, since it enabled him to get off fairly lightly after 1945. nationalist German Reich Party (D.R.P.). His association with Remer was one of the things which caused Dorls to be expelled from the German Reich Party. The Socialist Reich Party wa founded soon afterwards.

On May 26, 1951, Remer was sentenced to four month. imprisonment for libelling Federal Ministers. He appealed, and was not till seven months later that he started to serve his sentence In August a Lower Saxony court forbade him to speak anywhere i the Land. Similar bans exist in other parts of Germany.

Remer's significance for the Socialist Reich Party is that h identifies the party beyond doubt as the Nazis' successor. Other parties claim to want to revive certain aspects of Nazism. But Remer is the man who-according to his own testimony-saved National Socialism from the "traitors" of the resistance, and he therefore has the best claim of anyone to represent Hitlerism in its purest form. This, together with his oratory and the reek of violence and political murder about him all go to make him as

a professional soldier at the age of 21. By 1944 he had risen as were Heines, Rossbach, and other members of Hitler on July 20, 1944, was put in command of the Berlin garriso and matter ago, were among the earliest supporters of Hitler. Remer

Dr. Fritz Dorls (41).

Dr. Dorls is the nominal leader of the Socialist Reich Party mot poor window dressing. Has a long, gloomy face, patent imptoms of an inferiority complex (Robert Kee in Picture Post, 16 (31), and an incurable passion for intrigue.

He joined the Nazi Party in 1929, and in the same year and a cossfully applied for membership of the S.S.—at that time a civilian clothes, and fled west to avoid capture by the Russian, his unattractive characteristics had come to light and—surprisingly Remer then spent two years in a British prisoner-of-war cam mangh they made him unacceptable to the S.S. He remained a After he emerged, a German denazification tribunal forbade his member of the Nazi Party, however, lecturing at the Institute for all political activity. For two years he worked quietly as a brief Party Indoctrination and Training, until he was expelled (the date layer; but in 1949 he judged the moment ripe and he became active numbertain) for intriguing inside the party. Dorls himself describes in helping to found a Right-wing organisation called the League that years of his life as occupied with farming and writing. (German Parliamentary Handbook, 1949.)

> His expulsion from the Nazi Party was a blessing in disguise soon after the war he became a leader-writer on a Christian Democrat paper in Lower Saxony. It was not long, however, before began intriguing again, this time with the National Bolshevik Tho Strasser in Canada, with neo-Nazis in Bavaria and other figures on the extreme Right. In consequence he was expelled from the Christian Democrat Party, whereupon he joined the German Rich Party. Dorls was elected to the Federal Parliament on a Cherman Reich (D.R.P.) ticket in 1949, but almost at once was repelled for his intrigues which were designed, among other things, to bring Ernst Remer into the D.R.P.

> The Socialist Reich Party is Dorls' own creation. In spite of its completely undemocratic structure, however, it will be interesting m see if it, too, will be unable to digest Dr. Dorls' peculiar qualities. An interesting aspect of this gentleman's activities is that his name is frequently mentioned in connection with charges of operation between the Socialist Reich Party and the East Zone Communists. If, as seems quite probable, these charges have a

basis in fact, it is beyond doubt that Dorls is the man behind

Among his observations on contemporary politics the follow is outstanding both for style and content:

The German people does not need democracy and does want democracy. It must be led and it wants to be led. (Neue Vorwaerts, 29.6.

The parliamentary immunity of Dr. Dorls was lifted in Ap 1951.

3. Count Wolf von Westarp (41).

Nephew of a well-known conservative politician in Imper-Germany, Count von Westarp was a member of the Nazi Par many for telling his pupils that victory had been wrested from and later of the S.S. Before the war he was a foreign corresponde within the Second World War by treachery on the home front. of the Nazi paper Voelkischer Beobachter. He lost an arm in Russ and altered as a candidate during the Second World War. A careful observer, Robert Ko has described him as the shrewdest man in the Socialist Reich Par

Westarp, however, prefers to leave the limelight to Dorls are Remer. He is socially much more presentable and considerab more intelligent than either. He was a founder of the German Reio Party, but left it when it appeared to him to have become to rigidly conservative for his purposes. He preferred the fluidity from the Lower Saxony Christian Democrat Party.

Westarp can boast a modest conviction for falsifying his denazif cation questionnaire.

4. Gerhard Krueger (44).

As hard-shell and fanatic a Nazi as it is possible to be. (Repor of the American Jewish Committee, The Neo-Nazi Threat Western Germany. June, 1951.) Krueger joined the Nazi Brown shirts (Sturmabteilung) in 1924, at the age of 17, which means that he put his faith in Hitler at the Nazi Party's lowest ebb-just after the failure of the Munich Putsch. He is the author of a book called History from the Racial Viewpoint, and has been described with unconscious irony as an intellectual and philosophical influence in the Socialist Reich Party. During the war so important was he thought to be to the Nazi machine that he was totally exempted from

that service in order to enable him to pursue political work. many of the leaders of the Socialist Reich Party he was banned an all political activity after 1945 and, like them all, he has taken mother of the ban,

From Richter (40).

Helatively little is known about this man, and for his own part the not appear anxious to fill in the gaps in his record. He is a from the former German-speaking Sudeten territory of luclovakia, and is by profession a schoolmaster. To his grandelle he is known as "Stab-in-the-Back," because in 1949 dismissed from the school in which he taught in Lower the Corman Reich Party for the Federal elections, and elected the Honn Parliament.

Whiter is thought to have been an agent in Henlein's below fifth column, and now performs the function of liaison Mer between the Socialist Reich Party and Nazi-minded admitians in other countries. He is said to represent the more the Socialist Reich Party. Like many of his colleagues he graduate in uf Nazi). In appearance he is an undersized man and sports more varive wing of the Socialist Reich Party (the "Goering" Although unable to rival the Nazi record of a man like Rementary Clay, and General Eisenhower should be imprisoned as thiler moustache. He holds the view that President Truman, ar ariminals (Terence Prittie, The Listener, 28.6.51). Richter once remed the Jews and anti-Nazis of skulking at home in the concenauthon camps while patriots were defending their fatherland at 1 front (Speech in Lower Saxony, 1.12.49).

SUPPORTERS OF THE SOCIALIST REICH PARTY

The followers of the new Socialist Reich Party are not Identical with the dissidents of 1949, who were composed of generally dissatisfied elements, or those who did not know to which party to belong. The Socialist Reich Party of to-day is composed of completely new elements, especially of young peasants. (Die Ziet, 17,5,51)

Herr Remer drew a great deal of his support from former front-line soldiers and their families as well as those who never reased to be Nazis.

(The Times Bonn correspondent, 9.7.51)

That sums up the Socialist Reich Party—old Nazis, old sold amount financial influence on the Right wing of the Christian and young peasants. Therefore those who attribute the parameters Speaking at a public meeting in Karlsruhe, Dr. Drescher, success to refugees and unemployed, in other words simple the Parcentive of the Union of Landlords and Real Estate poverty and economic distress, are making a serious miss and that his Union would sooner have Remer than Lower Saxony has considerably more than its share of both, formula her (the Socialist leader), because the latter had used his if this were true it would fell more than its share of both, formula her (the Socialist leader), because the latter had used his if this were true it would follow that the Socialist Reich Party pro to wage war on their (the Union's) interests. (Die Welt, likely to remain largely a Lower Saxony phenomenon. But Nazis, old soldiers, and young peasants exist everywhere to lore Hitler's accession to power in 1933 the industrialists Germany, and encouraged by recent events they are likely to thirded in their political allegiance, some backing the decrepit

disenfranchised. It was in 1930, when Walter Darré persuad he Reichsfront has since been banned, but there are grounds for Hitler to advocate a protectionist policy for the peasantry that the ving that it is being kept in being under cover, at any rate in party began its rapid expansion which brought Hitler to below form. Chancellory less than three years later. Hitler had been in poli for ten years before he made a determined attempt to get the h Party are frequent; conclusive proof is lacking. It is certain,

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Is Remer receiving support from German industrialis Obviously he is receiving support from somewhere. The Lov Saxony campaign could never have been paid for out of memb ship subscriptions and entrance fees at his meetings. But the soun they had lost their old passion for political power and intrigue interesting for its phraseology, its admissions, and omissions. Pferdmenges, the banker and director, for example, is known

for the Socialist Reich Party or any equivalent party that of such Hindenburg, others the Nationalists, only some being itself. The Catholic Church, it is true, normally forms somethemed Hitler. The attraction of the Nazis and the Nationalists was of a bulwark, and is not strong in Lower Saxony; but, on but both parties had private armies at their disposal inspired with other hand, the predominantly Catholic Land of Bavaria is sandral hatred of "Marxists" and trade unions. The industrialists The refugees tend to vote for their own party, the B.H.E. School than ideology. Locally the Nazi Brownshirts of the S.A. industrial unemployed, in Lower Saxony at any rate, seem of the Stahlhelm (a Right-wing Nationalist ex-Servicemen's It is worth recalling that Hitler's N.S.D.A.P. remained has been alist Reich Party had a private army closely modelled on more than a small local party in Bavaria while it directed. As and S.A. of beer-cellar days, called the Reichsfront, and appeal to the urban unemployed and the socially and economic manual act as an attraction vis-à-vis reactionary industrialists.

peasant vote. His disciples of to-day have taken the moral superver, that if they have been made Remer and Dorls would not heart and from the beginning have angled for peasant support any offers of this sort. At the moment they, like other Rightmu extremists, are in the political field with the object, among athers, of attracting financial support from reactionary circles in mothess and industry.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE SOCIALIST REICH PARTY

The S.R.P. has produced a printed leaflet Programme for Action are obscure. Although the German industrialists to-day are beginned to rear substantial of the history of ning to reap substantial profits, they are not yet as rich as und not had a 25-point programme which now, in view of the history of the Weimar Republic. At the same time it would be surprising the Third Reich, makes curious reading. The Programme, however,

It begins by stating that the S.R.P. is a "closing of the ranks"

by Germans who wish to restore honour, justice, and order family independent of the great Powers, both East and West. Point their country, and

N.S.D.A.P. 25 Points

S.R.P. Programme

- 1. The Party demands the bringing together of all Germans under the law of self-determination into a single greater Germany.
- 2. The Party demands equality for Germany among the other nations.
- 3. We demand land and space for 3. We approve of a Europ
- 6. We fight the corrupt Parliamentary system and the filling of posts on a party basis without consideration of character or capabilities.

- 1. All Germans must be un into a single German Reic
- 2. The S.R.P. calls for the dom and independence of
- community one remembers Hitler's view a European "community."
- must determine appointme to political bodies, thus or coming the misgovernment political parties.

Reich Party finds its feet and goes off by itself. But at the e is used as Dorls' point 13: it is the grimly ironical guarantee to being extended from coal and steel to other industries, but only freedom of belief and workers. The S.P.P. says: "The worker freedom of belief and worship. Points 1 and 2 of the S.R. in the face of intense opposition. The S.R.P. says: "The worker programme call for unity between the face of the S.R. in the face of intense opposition. The S.R.P. says: "The worker programme call for unity between the face of the S.R. in the face of intense opposition." programme call for unity between the two halves of Germany as the end of the occupation. No government, it says, has the right is but without giving an opportunity for interference by bodies outside give away German territory. (The territory of the says, has the right is but without giving an opportunity for industrialists that they can give away German territory. (The territorial agreements betwee the firm "—an obvious intimation to industrialists that they can the East Zone Government and Polandard agreements betwee the firm "—an obvious intimation to industrialists that they can the East Zone Government and Poland and Czechoslovakia, or an only on the S.R.P. to help them squeeze the trade unions out of compromise on the Saar question, would seem to be the objects of appartnership schemes.

their country, and accept, as their law, loyalty to the Reic support piece of writing, practically incomprehensible, opposing looks as if Dr. Dorls may have had the Nazi twenty-five point federal and the centralised State. Point 5 gives a glowing before him as a model for this programme, because there time of the German State with "party misgovernment" banished. striking resemblance in order and terminology. Dorls, how timed philosophical, and religious freedom are guaranteed, the leaves out any reference to "non-Germans" (i.e., Jews), and the criticism in speech and publication is laid down, and the programme also avoids the use of the word "democracy"—usu pludary is to be independent. Point 6 introduces us to "People's a great favourite with speakers and writers of the extreme Richards of the Germans. It includes protection of the of the German soldier and bars "Marxist concepts of

> by point 7 the social programme is under way. Here we find works and a national labour service. The capital levy responsed (and long deferred) by the Bonn Government, known as The Equalisation of Burdens," is dismissed in point 7 as "already wrong in its basic conception." The capital levy is planned compensate those who suffered from the war by losing limbs, winners, property, and homes. (The fate of this plan is many both within and with saturally of the highest interest to the refugees.) The Socialist Reich peasant voters have long been apprehensive about how in h of their gains during the recent years they will be called upon (The parallel is clear enough and up to the homeless, the war cripples, and other sufferers. Momer and Dorls promise to protect the peasants from equal unlens; and as a sop to the refugees and wounded soldiers, he 5. The concept of personal proposes a vague scheme of loans and cheap credits.

In point 8 the S.R.P. approaches—with great caution—the moddems of capital and labour. In spite of "People's Socialism," property will not, it seems, be disturbed provided its owners After the earlier generalities, the programme of the Social much Party also steps gingerly on the controversial question of the Party finds its feet and controversial question of the Social much Party also steps gingerly on the controversial question of invention appears to have run dry once more, and Hitler's point principle of equal workers' representation on boards of directors is used as Dorls' point 13 it is the said to other industries, but only

The European community, spoken of in point 3, is elaborated the programme demands, as Hitler once did, a special status for

peasants inside the nation. As a practical measure they are to higher prices as a result of import duties on food.

Having made appeals and promises to the main section the German people, the author appears to have lost interest in programme. There are a few more clauses about govern economy, unmarried mothers, etc.; and finally, in despera Hitler's 25th point is dragged in to do duty as the Socialist R Party's 13th and last.

How little meaning programmes, statements of policy, and words themselves have for the leaders of the S.R.P. can be from the examples which follow:

> "The S.R.P. is not a successor to the N.S.D.A.P." (S.R.P. Leaflet issued at Celle, May, 1

"Remer said, amid loud applause, that they (the S.R.P.) going to continue the National Socialist Revolution."

(Die Welt, 18.6

"Remer gave his word of honour that the Party leaders paid unqualified allegiance to the democratic order." (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 5.6,

"Said Remer: 'I am not a Nazi, but I believe in the principal of authoritarian leadership."

(Charles Wighton, Daily Express, 7.5.

being an extremist party. It recognised the Federal Chancellor a

(Die Welt, 9.7.)

"The Chairman of the S.R.P. in Dettmold, Josef Baer, sentenced to two months' imprisonment on charges of slander the Federal Government. At a public meeting he had referred 'the Government of marionettes,' and described the ministers 'collaborators' who would one day be hanged."

(Allgemeine Wochenzeitung, 13.7.)

On 18th June, 1951, Remer made a speech in Lübeck in whi he said: "We are against the hatred of Jews and racial ideolo . . . We are not going to gloss over what was done to the Jev

Wreaths laid at the Celle Memorial for the Fallen of the Fi World War included one with seven red roses, and the inscription "To the Dead of Landsberg," and signed by Mrs. Dieterle, S.R.P. candidate who had been conducting a campaign for t

The S.R.P. during the following night had another million and To the Landsberg inscription "To the Landsberg affination to Whener Library Survey of German and Austrian Press, 21.6.51)

I may points of the Party's propaganda which hardly appear the programme, but on which the leaders maintain a fairly and attitude, are: opposition to the "traitors" and "collathe question of remilitarisation, and the German da a "Honour."

the "mitors" and "collaborators," persistently slandered by " P are: first, the members of the Resistance of July, 1944; the emigrés who helped the Allies during the war; third, who, like Dr. Kurt Schumacher, maintained a steadfast goutton through years of concentration-camp imprisonment; and the Federal Ministers and Civil Servants in Bonn; and last, democrat not included in these categories who works for duling co-operation with the Western Powers. It is a comprehen-

Hemer opposes remilitarisation under the present circumstances. pursuit of his theory of independence in the East-West struggle that for Germans to take up arms would result in their "Dorls declared that the S.R.P. was wrongly reproached warmen! States. By this opposition he gains the sympathy and some of the votes of the many Germans who sincerely all thought of carrying arms, whether in a national or a Immpean army. Some of this pacificism comes from a deep conviction that war can solve nothing; more comes from the protein consideration that a third European war involving from might well mean her annihilation; but there is a third many former officers, and it is to these that the If I appeals most. They have no objections to a German army. In the contrary, it represents their ideal; but the army must come Germany's terms in Germany's time. To rearm now might mean We were not in favour of it. (Report by Mrs. Eva G. Reichman army would be a very junior partner of the West. Given neutrality, the c people think, Germany can survive, build up an army at later in the future, and become once more the "leader" of

The Landsberg "comrades" were war criminals executed by the U.S. Sahorities, Most were convicted for racial murders. One was Ohlendorf, respondible for the extermination of 80,000 Jews and Poles. Another was Pohl, who I stroyed the Warsaw ghetto.

Europe, holding the balance between East and West. Such reason and an anying that they will not co-operate in any German is not untypical of contain a saying that they will not co-operate in any German is not untypical of certain types of nationalist Germans western defence while convicted war criminals like combine abysmal ignorance of the facts with a shallow lac

Instead of letting our women and children be overrun by Russians and our men bleed to death in the Maginot Line should stretch out our arms so that the Russians can march thre

And again:

The increasing political strains in Western Europe between United States and her allies offer Germany an opportunity regain its international position without participating in

(The Neo-Nazi Threat in Western Germany-a re to the American Jewish Committee. Paris, June, 1

So much for the "European Community."

Restoration of the "honour" of the German soldier is not si a nebulous demand as it sounds. In its broad form it is the theory that a soldier who obeys orders can never be responsi for the results. Therefore, although the German soldier was instrument through which Hitler committed aggression, robbery, a genocide, only Hitler was responsible, because everyone else to orders from Hitler. Hitler died for his crime; everyone who carri it out for him is innocent.

At first it was the German soldier proper who was said be innocent, but not members of the Waffen S.S., the milita formation of Hitler's Blackshirts. But they, too, have now be brought in under the umbrella of Soldier's Honour, as have t murderous Sicherheitsdienst (S.D.). As we have seen, members of the S.R.P. regard the mass murderers of Landsberg as soldiers fallfor their country. No one, not even the S.D. and Gestapo, need guilty under this interpretation, particularly as the tendency growing to forget the crimes and deny their very existence. The appeal of this doctrine to old Nazis is obvious. It justifies them and Dr. Richter can call for their indemnification as "victims of

priniciple and the most airy wishful thinking. Remer describes the statement that he believed the German soldier—as S.R.P. attitude as follows: the Nazi leaders-to have been an honourable man flame and by many Germans (not merely S.R.P. leaders) as a and It released no war criminals and indemnified no "victims Tour Albertion."

IIII S.R.P. AND THE EAST ZONE AUTHORITIES

Appealing remilitarisation and calling for the restoration of the Man Soldier's Honour are policies enjoying wide favour beyond minds of the S.R.P., and, indeed, beyond the Right wing in man politics. But if it could be established that the Socialist The Party were hand in glove with Grotewohl and Ullbricht-Communist rulers in the Eastern Zone—then the neohe would be rapidly isolated from most other Germans. For while the Communists, whose West German vote has fallen attly as a result, and a few strange intriguers on the Right, a mally everyone in the Federal Republic is firmly opposed to brutal totalitarianism of the satellite East Zone Government. The advantages to the East Zone authorities of having a fully Nazi movement operating in the West are obvious. It Groupts the Federal Republic itself, creates suspicion among the Powers of Germany's reliability as an ally, and it can be as a "proof" to the world that the Western Powers failed, moduly intentionally, to eliminate the Nazi menace. For this surpose the neo-Nazi party must remain ostensibly independent The Eastern Communists; but it would be a worthy object of the techarity. Does the Socialist Reich Party in fact get subsidies the East? Here are some views:

Doctor Lehr (Federal Minister of the Interior) said to-day that there was reason to believe, although the evidence was difficult to obtain, that the neo-Nazis had contacts with the Soviet headquarters at Karlshorst in the Eastern Sector of Berlin.

(The Times Bonn Correspondent, 28.5.51)

The appeal to soldiers is that acceptance of the Soldier's Honou reported that the North Rhine Westphalian section of the S.R.P., theory implies the immediate release of all generals convicted of together with its section of the Reichsjugend (S.R.P. Youth movewar crimes. Already many of the generals outside gaol have gone ment), had left the main party on the grounds that Dorls and

Remer had established contact with the Eastern Zone. (This to a Beally Communist Youth Rally, Remer, the paper said, was strong evidence is however, the paper said, was strong evidence is, however, weakened because the local lead to accepting, but he was too strongly opposed by other question, Keseberg, has received at least ten sentences for and perjury-all non-political. While this fact would not of

Fritz Dorls issued a directive to his party officials to un mine the authority of the Bonn Government . . . by backing munist claims that the Adenauer Government's policy will lea war . . . (Remer) carefully avoids direct criticism of Russia or

(Sunday Times Berlin Correspondent, 26.

... an unholy alliance between the neo-Nazis and Mosc German dupes is always a possibility.

(The Economist, 13.5

Sefton Delmer has examined the S.R.P. in a series of artipublished during July, 1951. While he disagreed with the Sun Times correspondent that Remer avoids criticism of Russia and Communists, and quoted Remer's denials of having received from the East, the third article went on:

Remer, despite his denunciation of Russia and the C munists, is doing a better job for the Soviet in Western Germ than other organisations used by the Cominform. Rem emergence must mean a decreased willingness on the part of Western Powers to accept Germany in the Western bloc.

(Daily Express, 1.7,

foreign policy with Oskar Gustmann, who frequently visits Soviet zone on special missions, that Dorls has been Contact with Willy Schebaum of the "Communist Agents' Centrum their own territory. They founded the National Democratic Office" at Hanover, and that they discussed ways of co-operation in the struggle against remilitarisation.

(The organisation publishing this pamphlet is a reputable a worthy one; but neither allegation seems very convincing. T

The Neue Zeitung (4.8.51), usually a very reliable paper, report that Remer received an invitation from Ullbricht (Secretary-Gener of the East Zone Socialist Unity Party) to send delegates to the

Sucuride?

make Keseberg unsuited for the S.R.P., his evidence about the bis followers at a party rally in March, 1951. They Pathapt more convincing is a series of quotations from Remer's and in a pamphlet, "Answer to Remer," by a publicist called mustal, who is clearly a supporter of the Federal Government. I that listed seven quotations (without giving the origin) Neunand a kn the reader to guess which one of Grotewohl (the East ommunist Premier) and which of Remer. It certainly seems But they are in fact all Remer's. Here is one:

> We will attack and revile any German general who dares to other Germans as cannon fodder until the very dogs in the street would not take food from his hand.

The author of Answer to Remer thinks statements like this ollusion between Remer and Grotewohl. He clinches his removed with this further statement made by Remer on 29th 1 m.h. 1951:

It is my view that if we are aiming at freedom (for this. Neunteufel says, read unity of Germany), we can go part of the way with political opponents.

These are the views of democratic observers, both German and harving. Of course, both S.R.P. and the Communists flatly deny the charge of collusion. That Richter, Dorls, and the Communists The Neue Zeitung quotes a pamphlet produced by a no tool parties are fundamentally opposed to the present democratic Communist organisation for the victims of Nazism. The pamph order (Communists, it must be said, however, are frequently being alleged that in November, 1950, Dorls discussed the S.R.F. and to prison in Western Germany for breaking up S.R.P. an (tings.)

Putty with the explicit intention of pulling in the "small" Nazis and junior army officers. It was, by East Zone standards, a reasonable success. The temptation to fish in similar waters across "Communist Agents' Central Office," for instance, sounds a highly the East Zone press ignored the opportunity to play up the S.R.P. mains in Lower Saxony—a gift for Communist propaganda, one would have thought.

> It should be remembered, too, that when Dorls was expelled from the Christian Democrat Party and later from the German

Reich Party he was accused on both occasions of having intrigute on the assumption that like can handle like, no one in the with Otto Strasser, who lives in Canada. Strasser calls himse the Hitler-Stalin Pact, need be surprised. But "National Bolshevik" and carries on where his brother Green me recollection, combined with the evidence quoted here, once General Secretary of the Nazi Party, left off when he would be sufficient to dispel any illusions about the innate antimurdered by Hitler's orders on 30th June, 1934. The Strasser "line annument of the neo-Nazis or their value to democracy in its included limited co-operation with Communists on the dome was bagainst Stalinism. front, and less limited co-operation with the Soviet Union abro If Dorls has anything concrete to offer Strasser, it is co-operate of this sort.

Also Dorls was a close associate of Dr. Gereke (of whom m later), who was dismissed from the Lower Saxon Land Government for establishing political contacts with the Grotewohl Government in Eastern Berlin,

The most interesting piece of evidence, however, is that Ren has on several occasions given his solemn word of honour that has no connection with the East. To those, at any rate, who jud a man's honour by his record, that might appear conclusi particularly if Remer's far-from-clear rôle in the events of Ji 1944, is recalled, and the fact remembered that in May, 1945, appears to have deserted the men under his command. One's mi also goes back to Hitler's facile use of the word "honour."*

The weight of evidence and the views of expert observers may it look probable that at least the leaders of the S.R.P. are profitable contact with the East Zone Communists. The leader themselves are unprincipled opportunists to whom no source support would come amiss. Therefore it is of the greatest impo tance that no one, German or Allied, takes the S.R.P.'s an Communist protestations seriously; the risk is too great. This especially true of people outside Germany who have forgotten never seriously considered) the true menace of Nazism and w are now lightheartedly seeking allies anywhere who might be an Communist.

The truth about the Socialist Reich Party and the whole neo Nazi movement is that it is not anti-Communist. It does n operate on any coherent set of ideas at all, but on opportunitie It will offer itself to both sides in the cold war, being equall prepared to betray both. If the Russians are prepared to take the

* Hitler almost invariably gave his "word of honour" that he would no take a particular course of action, which he had in fact planned, when it was important to deceive his opponents. The Munich Putsch of 1923 is a classic case

ORGANISATION OF THE S.R.P.

t similars of membership vary from 20,000 (more likely) to Members are mostly under 40 years of age. There is no me on the election of officers, who are appointed, in the best men minner, from above. The organisation seems confined to Holstein, Lower Saxony, and parts of North Rhine apphalia. It maintains liaison with other groups having similar metrics in Central and South Germany. Lower Saxony is—at proment its main centre. This Land was the only one that marked support to the explicitly Right-wing extremists th 1949 elections.

Until the summer of 1951 the Socialist Reich Party had two an military bodies, the Reichsfront (comparable to the Nazi S.A. and the Reichsjugend (modelled on the Hitler Youth). half have been banned by the Federal Government under the Law. The former had white shirts, black breeches and boots. main function was to "keep order" at meetings, in other words the a strong-arm gang trained in traditions of German beer-hall difficult warfare. The Reichsjugend was to act as a hatching box the Reichsfront. It wore grey shirts and black breeches. Both informs included armbands, insignia, and the party badge.

The party badge is a black eagle on a red background. The I P has brought back the black, red, and white of the Hohenofferns and Hitler to oppose the black, red, and gold of Weimar and Bonn.

The musical tastes of Remer and Dorls are characteristic. Their appearances at meetings are heralded by bands playing the marches remsens Gloria (The Glory of Prussia) and The Badenweiler (a much which, in the Third Reich, was only played when the Führer appeared). The meetings themselves are exact, though as yet mulest, copies of Nazi gatherings. An entrance fee is charged (1 or marks—the price of a cinema seat) and the audience are often tept waiting for a long time listening to marches and singing. This puts them in a suitable mood for the late arrival of the spea who are usually greeted with great enthusiasm, described by observers as near-hysterical.

Speeches which deal at all coherently with foreign affair economics are listened to politely but without emotion; it is passionate calls for Germany's restoration to greatness, Germany to play "its rightful part" in Europe which are gre by cheers and shouts of applause, so that these passages devan hypnotic anthem form between speaker and audience reminiscent of pre-war Nazi meetings.

Opponents generally appear, too; and when they do so sufficient numbers they barrack the speaker and often end by bring up the meeting. Werner Knop, a German refugee from Hi writing in *The Saturday Evening Post* (27.5.51) reports that S.R.P. meeting in Wilhelmshaven was brought to an end by an dockyard workers who chanted: "Nazi butcher—Remer to gallows," and successfully resisted the attempts of gangs uniformed *Reichsfront* stewards to throw them out.

Violence of a far more murderous kind, however, would app to lurk beneath the surface among the ranks of the S.R.P. Two d after Remer began to serve his sentence for libel, two bo explosions took place in North Germany. One killed Dr. Ad Wolfard, editor of the anti-Nazi Bremer Nachrichten. The ot exploded prematurely, killing an 18-year-old girl postal employee Eystrup. These two bombs, together with a third which failed go off, were sent through the post from Verden, a hotbed of no Nazism, addressed to their intended victims. In addition to the fa casualties, seven persons were injured, most of them severely

Such is the Socialist Reich Party, a party organised on N lines, run by the most notorious type of "unreconstructed" Na and appealing to dangerous, but not, on the whole, economical distressed groups.

It is not, however, the only party of this kind in Wester Germany. There are others with similar aims and similar root but who have so far failed to keep up with the young S.R.P. strength and popularity.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER EXTREME RIGHT AND NATIONALIST GROUPS

chaustive survey of the kaleidoscopic extreme Right to termany would be out of date before it was completed.

The expert has counted 317 separate Right radical and parties in the Federal and parties in the Federal public the years 1949 and 1950, when the Federal Republic thing shape, were years of feverish activity, with foundations, annalgamations, personal feuds, and jockeying for position on the Right are seldom, in the last resort, about policies the are extremely adjustable), but almost invariably arise from personal feuds of unprincipled men who are seeking to organise themselves the body which, they hope, will be the Nationalist of the Federal Republic.

there is a list of a few of the more notorious groups and parties, their with notes about some of the main personalities connected them.

GERMAN SOCIALIST PARTY (D.S.P.)

This is a Berlin offshoot of the Socialist Reich Party, which troke away from it. Its leader is Eberhard Stern, who claims he may never a Nazi. It seems to be, if anything, even more explicitly than the S.R.P. itself. It is interesting that when police raided the houses of its supporters recently they found not only a few theorems and party uniforms but also a quantity of swastika flags. Hence for his part is still content with a Prussian eagle.

The German Socialist Party has an extremely limited follo in the Western Sector of Berlin. The West Sector police say recent raid showed evidence of contact with Communists in Eastern Sector.

GERMAN REICH PARTY (D.R.P.)

The German Reich Party has characteristics which make it logical successor to the Hugenberg Nationalists of the Well Republic. Like the S.R.P. its strength lies in the reactionary at of Lower Saxony. It sent five members to Bonn in 1949, two whom, Richter and Dorls, have both now joined the Socialist Reparty. Its vote slumped heavily in May this year, and it looks if its thunder has been stolen by the more radical S.R.P. It was temporary resting place for Hedler, the antisemitic Federal Departer his expulsion from the Right-Centre German Party. German Reich Party has since, in its turn, also expelled Hedler The hope of the German Reich Party lies in collecting conservations from the German Party, which is the most Right wing of Bonn Coalition parties, if the latter can be successfully accused "collaborating" with the Western Allies. Its organiser, Dr. Gerecently resigned on the grounds that it was co-operating we

REFUGEE PARTY (B.H.E.)*

Because it wishes to collect the votes of refugees of all politic beliefs and classes, the B.H.E. has been careful not to ident itself clearly as a party of the extreme Right. It concentrates day-to-day issues, and its utterances on foreign politics are confined to demands for the return of the Oder-Neisse territories, no part of Poland. To keep its support it must be outspokenly and Communist and anti-Russian. It could hardly survive the suspicion of Communist collaboration which has fallen on the S.R.P. Toparty seems to be very loosely organised. Its leaders are near

In Schleswig-Holstein it has two government posts in a Righ wing coalition. Kraft, the B.H.E. leader in Schleswig-Holstein, an ex-S.S. officer from the German minority areas of Poland. I Lower Saxony, where the Refugee Party holds the balance

*Bund der Heimatslosen und Entrechteten, (meaning broadly): League of

and that three of its 31 newly-elected Landtag deputies are

The product of the sense of desperation felt by the refugees to 1 antern Zone. If, as in Schleswig-Holstein, it enters Land man of coalitions, it may find that it loses refugee support by the nature of things, it cannot keep its promises. It willy, non-cooperation might be a better line. The Social man in Lower Saxony have formed a coalition with the Party.

RECONSTRUCTION PARTY (W.A.V.)

Under the leadership of Alfred Loritz, this party (licensed only American Zone) has made considerable headway in Bavaria.

12 seats in the 1949 Federal elections. Originally, it was the who was tipped as the new Hitler. His electoral appeal was the small peasant, the small shopkeeper, and the refugees.

13 an anti-Nazi long before Hitler came to power, and resisted that Reich from its inception. Throughout the war he was the run from the Gestapo.

After the war his political activity, which seemed at first minely Right wing, landed him in gaol. He escaped, was appured, and eventually found innocent. When he led his party in the Bundestag (Federal Parliament) in 1949 he insisted that it as a Left-Centre party, and it took its seats between the Christian transcrats and the Centre (Left Catholics). The impression gained round that Loritz was really a misunderstood Liberal. He is a good orator, has a by no means unpleasant personality, and is appable of witty and telling speeches.

Towards the end of 1949, however, rumours began to circulate that I oritz was intriguing with Dorls and Richter of the Socialist track Party for an electoral alliance giving the Reconstruction Party a clear run in its Bavarian stronghold. Dorls and Richter attached themselves to the W.A.V. faction in the Bundestag. thouly after, the other W.A.V. deputies expelled Loritz and his two S.R.P. allies. The position is now obscure, as it often is when these ephemeral parties split. But it seems as if Loritz's opportunism was too much for his W.A.V. followers. From the extreme Hight they had, in 1949, been swept over to the Left Centre, and now their leader was asking them to go back again to the extreme Hight—this time not as independents but in the company of some

highly suspect politicians. The other Reconstruction Party dep. apparently felt that the gains of such an electoral manœuvre w be outweighed by the prestige losses.

If Loritz joins Dorls and Remer in the Socialist Reich P. however, he may prove a very valuable asset. In the past, he had considerable influence among Bavaria's huge refugee population tion, although recent indications are that it has waned.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (N.D.P.)

The National Democratic Party is a local phenomenon in He (It is, of course, quite distinct from the East Zone Russian-sponso "small Nazis" party, which is also called the N.D.P.) Origin it was lead by Dr. Leuchtgens (aged 75), a colourful old gentler with a most remarkable beard, who, in 1949, was elected to Bundestag as the party's sole representative. Having taken his s he joined the German Reich Party faction. It was said of Leuchtgens at that time that he was so far to the Right that chair would have to be moved through the wall of the Cham out on to the terrace. However, events have left this curious gentleman (whom Hitler once put into a concentration camp fo few weeks) well behind in the race for extremism. At a conferenof his own National Democratic Party he was ejected from leadership with cries: "Get out, you old reactionary!"; and n it is by no means certain whether it is the Leuchtgens faction his opponents who have the right to call themselves the N.D. The German courts seem baffled. During this internal revolution man named Karl Heinz Priester emerged, a figure to be taken mu more seriously than Leuchtgens (see below). The latter reported (Die Welt, 11.1.49) to have said that his party programincluded the return of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany!

EUROPEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT (E.S.B.)

Youth leader) after his split with Leuchtgens. It has not yet tak the field as a proper political party. It seeks to become the Germbranch of the "National Europe Movement" (or Congress), which is trying, with the help of Oswald Mosley and Per Engdahl (t

Reich Party enabled him to persuade Richter to go

I I I gropean Social Movement runs a periodical called Nation to which the notorious Right-wing extremist Hans Grimm, a contributor. The paper advocates the movement's policy of man "unity" in terms like these:

We have no superstitious respect for dogmas, not even those it the new ruling democratism. . . .

Whatever may be the objections levelled against Hitler, until the German Reich fought for the integrity of Europe. The more cannot be said of his adversaries.

A European alliance is the only salvation; everything depends, therefore, on the Germans assuming again their old rôle (our mallow) of being the most faithful guardians of the West. . . . Those Im are still talking of German crimes are suspect of being it it is to salve their own bad consciences.

Han Grimm adds this to the intellectual feast of Nation

the present situation) is due to Jewish cries for vengeance. Only (a) (b) Jews were killed—far less than those who lost their lives in the senseless expulsion of Germans from the East.

the founder of the E.S.B., Priester, once made the extraordinary It partion that the East Zone authorities had offered him 600,000 that shemarks (£50,000) to work with the East Zone National Homeratic Party. Priester virtuously refused, (Kölnische Rund-The story is interesting since it shows the vain ampidity of many of these men.

GERMAN SOCIAL PARTY (D.S.P.)

As a separate party, this group is unlikely to survive. But its I uler, Günther Gereke, is almost certain to appear in newspaper wherever political scandals come to light. In May, 1945, the party won only 25,000 votes in Lower Saxony. It was founded This group was founded by Karl Heinz Priester (a former Hith the Gereke after his expulsion from the Christian Democrats in 1950 and his failure, thereafter, to link up with the Refugee Party. storeke had been a Minister in the Lower Saxon cabinet (a (bristian Democrat coalition) and had been sent to East Berlin negotiate a small trade agreement for Lower Saxon exports. Swedish Hitlerite and antisemite), to set up a kind of post-we Apparently the discussion soon turned from Lower Saxony jams fascist international. Priester was forbidden to go to the recent to the possibility of Gereke's interesting his colleagues in East-West National Europe Congress in Malmö, but his good relations will political co-operation with a view to uniting the two halves of Germany. The secret was badly kept and Gereke was force to the Munich by August Hausleiter. An heil to the "indepenresign. He is, for the moment, in the political wilderness.

This man managed the immense funds put at Hindenb disposal for the Presidential election campaign of 1932. destination was a mystery and Gereke was brought to course of democratic politics.) Hausleiter approaches remilitari-Hitler for corruption. Gereke refused to reveal what had happened in a way indistinguishable from Remer's. Here is a typical to the money (and still does, to this day), but hinted that he covering up for a much greater person.

He represents the tendency on the extreme Right to comprowith the Communists for the sake of German unity. His own atti is equivocal—as always—but his recent record does not seem have found much favour in Lower Saxony.

GERMAN BLOC (D.B.)

A party of dissidents from the Refugee W.A.V., led by Meissner ("The Sausage Hitler"), the German Bloc was origin a Munich group, founded in 1949. In the 1950 Bavarian election it achieved 0.6 per cent of the votes cast. It has since exten operations as far North as Schleswig-Holstein. It calls for German 1938 frontiers (at which point in 1938 is not specified) and reto the Bonn Government as "Spies and Traitors." In June, Meiss announced a purge of "reactionary elements" from the Gern Bloc-presumably men who were not obedient to his leaders

The German Bloc has frequently clashed with the West Germ authorities, who banned a demonstration planned for Bayreuth the time of the Festival. The Minister of the Interior in the high reactionary Schleswig-Holstein Land Government declared t legally it was impossible to ban the "Bloc."

FATHERLAND UNION (V.U.)

This body is led by Karl Feitenhansl (a Henleinist from Sudetenland) under the slogan "Fight Against Communism." follows this slogan literally in its beer-hall war tactics against be Communists and Socialists. A denazification tribunal forba-Feitenhansl all political activity for five years, but he is defying the ban in a barely concealed way. He and Hausleiter (see below) a the most serious claimants for the rôle of "Remer of the South

GERMAN ASSOCIATION ("DEUTSCHE GEMEINSCHAFT")

the appeared frequently in the earliest post-1945 elections. badependents" coveted the votes of the young who were a most of his:

I do not wish to be taken for an antisemite, but in my opinion Fisenhower is nothing but a front for Frankfurter, manuficiand Morgenthau. Since in 1945 he (Eisenhower) handed tens of thousands of German soldiers as prisoners to the there is no guarantee that in the future he will not mann sacrifice tens of thousands of Germans to the Russians, this dine as cannon fodder.

(Neue Zeitung, 15.3.51)

GERMAN ACTION (" DEUTSCHE AKTION ")

purty, seeking support largely from refugees, German Action In thy the eccentric Catholic reactionary, Prince Hubertus zu mentein. Its policy is that all refugees must return to their own within a Germany unified in her "historical" frontiers. make in was responsible for the "reoccupation" of Heligoland turbuts in the winter of 1950-51. Loewenstein, like many Transma far to the Left of him, now thinks of the Sudetenland as mercial" German territory, and a refugees' frontier would quantly include the results of Hitler's aggression against Czecho-1 in 1938.

HAGUE OF GERMANY'S REVIVAL ("BUND FUR DEUTSCHLANDS ERNEUERUNG ")

Lounded in July, 1950, to propagate the ideas of the "National od havik" Otto Strasser, who is Chairman in absentia. Its headmarters are at Stuttgart.

THE BROTHERHOOD ("BRUDERSCHAFT")

the of the most sinister manifestations of German Nationalism, larively little is known about the Brotherhood. It is a semisociety of the high-ranking military Nazis. The Social-A party for the "young forces hitherto practically indifferent tentral Staff of the new nationalist movement." It split last year distillusioned with other practically indifferent tentral Staff of the new nationalist movement." Which accepts or disillusioned with other parties," the German Association was intended to democratic "wing (led by Beck-Broichsitter), which accepts

the Bonn Government as a temporary, lesser evil, and a wing w is prepared to deal with the Soviet Union and will not told Bonn. One leader of the more radical wing is the notor Nationalist, General Guderian, Hitler's leading tank expert.

He has already stated his terms for German co-operation the West in his book So Geht es Nicht ("It can't be done like tha They are: complete equality and freedom for Germany with restoration of her pre-war frontiers. His book is perhaps ch remarkable for the aggressiveness of his style, which he man to combine with injured innocence.

The Brotherhood is no more proof against splits than the o extremist groups, but it is in a slightly different category, and a private society, more difficult to observe and control. It see safer to regard it as a body, seeking to guide all forms of national in Germany rather than as a comic group of windbags-which a frequent reaction to its early appearance. The authority of n like Guderian is considerable, especially among ex-soldiers page 44), and when the Rightist groups have shaken down carved up the territory between them, the need for a "Gene Staff" on military lines will rapidly emerge.

FIRST LEGION (" ERSTE LEGION ")

object of being a "democratic" pep-group, appealing to you It included several leading politicians and the then Acting Feder Press Chief. It has since been disowned by the Christian Democra because of its "militant" and extremist tendencies. The Fin Legion was reported in the Frankfurter Rundschau (18.7.51) to co-operating with former members of the Nazi Labour Service

THE STEEL HELMET ("STAHLHELM")

A revival of this Nationalist ex-Servicemen's organisation Weimar days is said to have taken place secretly early in 195 One of the founders is an old Stahlhelm member called Han Joachim Gottsleben, who has said: "A war between East and Wes is the only hope for rearming Germany. . . . Only Germans can half the Red Army" (Stüttgarter Zeitung, 17.3.51). On the surface this would seem to be a view opposed to that of the Socialist Reich

but fundamentally the two concepts seek the same objective a Common nationalist military revival. The difference is that the a pappeals to those who regard it as good tactics for the moment play neutral between East and West, while the Stahlhelm believes, hat adveral of the ex-generals, that now is the time to wring the concessions out of the Western Allies.

I lements of the pre-1933 Stahlhelm co-operated with the S.A. at Hitler's seizure of power. It was eventually merged with

THEE CORPS OF GERMANY ("FREIKORPS DEUTSCHLAND")

Tounded by Karl Neumann in Hamburg on semi-military lines prevent the employment of "July 20 Traitors" as officers in a ferman armed force, this is a new group. It quite openly calls the re-establishment of the Nazi State. The Free Corps claims than 1,000 members.

WOLFGANG HEDLER

This man, a banking official by profession, was elected to the Mundestag in 1949 as a member of the German Party for Schleswig-An association started in Bonn in 1950 with the ostensik wiles) in which he said that the only thing wrong with Hitler's Holstein. In 1950 he made his notorious speech (the climax in a lowish policy was that the Jews were gassed. This earned him a meating from Socialist deputies, a not too precipitate expulsion from the German Party, the raising of his Parliamentary immunity, and rial in which he was acquitted (for lack of evidence). Since then the statements have been substantiated in court, together with others landering the Bonn Government, and Hedler has received a prison antence of nine months. It has come to light that he, too, has Intified his denazification questionnaire.

Hedler's activities and outspoken antisemitism did not prevent the German Reich Party from retaining him as a member for a year. The reason for his eventual expulsion seems to be that the German Reich Party, alarmed at the possibilities that it may be banned under a new Federal law, has been taking steps to make itself more "respectable." The expulsion of Hedler would certainly be move in that direction.

This morose, unattractive figure will doubtless play an important

part in the Nationalist revival. The Socialist Reich Party would be a likely home for him

LEAGUE OF GERMAN SOLDIERS

Stahlhelm (see page 42). Uneasy though Western observers might it would be flying in the face of common sense not to regard su development as natural and, indeed, inevitable, particularly il chaotic state of ex-Servicemen's civilian rehabilitation in Wes Germany were taken into account.

On balance, therefore, a reasonable view would be that groupings need not represent a danger to German democracy long as they keep out of politics and confined themselves to so and welfare activities. And it is precisely on this score that ground exist for disquiet—if not alarm.

Up to 1951 the greater part of ex-soldiers' organisations w grouped into two main bodies, both on the whole concerned w welfare work. These were the Soldiers' League, with headquar in Bonn, led by ex-Admiral Hansen, and the Soldiers' Protect Society, operating mostly in Southern Germany, and led ex-General Krakau. The Bonn League counted about 100,0 members; ex-General Krakau's about 10,000. Various attempts fuse the two bodies in the early years failed, largely for techni-

A new development came in 1951, when former commande of individual Wehrmacht formations took the chair at mass rallie complete not only with banners and music but also resolution and speeches having quite definite political implications, which assumed a special importance in the light of current discussion among member-States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation on the most suitable form in which Western Germany might b asked to make a military contribution to the defence of Wester Europe. The resolutions and speeches were widely reported in the

a likely home for him, except that he seems to regard its learning the transfer to him as greatly inferior to him. THE PETRY.

the first of these reunions was that of the former Grossdeutsch-Management Division in Kassel. Its old commander, ex-General mounted it is true, issued orders that Ernst Remer-who had It was to be expected that before the war was long over for the battalion commanders—should not be allowed to Wehrmacht soldiers should re-establish contact with each of the undesirable political implication. On the other to reminisce over a glass of beer, to sing songs, and sometiment than the first there could be no defence. help old comrades to obtain employment, find a home, etc. P without a blush, that there could be no defence opinion in the West with the North Atlantic Treaty opinion in the West might view such a development with un profile between Germany and the North Atlantic Treaty especially in view of the murky political reputation of the intermediate of the murky political reputation had been seen as a second of the intermediate of the murky political reputation of the intermediate of the in of them released and until the process of denazification had been

> That was in June, 1951. Next month former members of the Devils" Parachutist Brigades met in Brunswick under Ramcke, In his speech Ramcke demanded that the of the German soldier should be cleared, and it was that within the meaning of the term "German soldier" included former members of the S.S. and S.D. and the (Le Figaro, 21.8.51)—all condemned as organisations only of genocide, mass torture, and other crimes against humanity Nucremberg Tribunal. Later, veterans of the Armoured army of Africa met at Iserlohn, in the Ruhr. Former cavalryhave formed their own "Yellow Circle." Plans were In announced for rallies of Gebirgsjaeger (Mountain Troops), the Fundor Legion" of German airmen who fought for Franco in and were responsible for the bombing of Guernica, and even of the Waffen S.S. organisation, condemned at Nuremberg for the munder of some ten million non-combatant men, women, and talliren, including six million Jews.

> The importance of the new political entity on the German scene the appearance of the so-called "Front Line Generation," with me shrill demand for the "vindication of the German soldier's lamour" (an echo of Remer's S.R.P. programme?)—should not be underestimated. Certainly the politicians at Bonn do not. To his hame, the Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, has not been above paying tribute to this strange concept of "honour," while his Minister of the Interior, Dr. Lehr, has proclaimed his intention of neviving German World War II medals-all of which, of course,

are stamped with the swastika. So staunch an anti-militarist Dr. Schumacher, doubtless with an eye to the hustings, has stall the bas nothing and our State, independent of all

joined hands and formed "The League of German Soldiers" und provisional mail and in the provisional mail and the provi the provisional presidency of ex-Colonel General Friessner, on the the way the S.S. was run realises that only in rare cases is it time Director of Military Training in the Wehrmacht. In considering pusible to distinguish, in terms of personnel, between its political the possible colour of this new organisation in the future, it is only and police functions, on the one hand, and its military functions of the one hand, and the on fair to state that several of its component bodies—notably the Grost the other. Consequently there is a considerable danger that this deutschland Division and the Africa Corps Old Comrades' Association will be used as the thin end of the wedge in attempts tions had, at their own rallies in the summer of 1951, sent telegran whitewash the whole criminal organisation. to President Heuss, affirming loyalty to the German Feden. It would almost seem as if the sober forebodings expressed in Republic.

of the first national appeal issued by the League are quite frankland, the Rhineland, are coming true. It was Dr. Arnold who then, alarming. Friessner's attitude with regard to the "General in answer to a speech by Manteuffel at a Free Democratic Party Plot " of July 20, 1944, against Hitler—usually regarded as the meeting at Düsseldorf, publicly proclaimed his fear that Germany's deciding factor in determining the degree to which a German assoldiers, once organised, would represent a mailed pressure ex-officer has cast off the Nazi outlook and frequently quoted by stoup which could threaten the infant German democracy. Eighteen Bonn politicians as evidence that there did exist a Resistance to months later the Bonn correspondent of the Observer reported National Socialism in Germany herself—is blunt and unequivocal that the League is regarded by many German democrats as "being He described the plot as "an attempt to murder the Suprem manager of becoming a tool for the political ambitions of a limited Commander behind the back of the Front." What is more number of professional officers." according to Friessner, the whole war was "chiefly a war agains Bolshevism," while the original invasion of Poland was "an inevitable reply to the intolerable persecution of Germans." It is true that these pronouncements have caused a certain amount of adverse criticism among ex-soldiers and there has been talk of replacing Friessner. At the time of going to press, however, no concrete action has been taken. It is difficult to estimate to what extent the continued presence of Friessner in the leadership of the League is due to the fact that his attitude reflects a general one among its members or whether he has not been replaced because of a fear that his successor might be a more intelligent exponent of the same views and therefore a more dangerous one. In this connection the name of Guderian is sometimes mentioned.

that he has nothing against the formation of ex-soldiers' organic and interests, governments, and occupying Powers." The care West German demonstrate by the development of which any commitment of loyalty specifically to the Federal West German democracy with sympathy, albeit with anxiety, a stepublic on the lines of the earlier Grossdeutschland Division only hope that Dr. Schumacher will have no grounds in the futtiendation was avoided, is both striking and depressing. Moreover, In September, 1951, the various ex-Servicemen's organisatio military" membership of the S.S. the fact that it has decided to

Yet the public pronouncements of Friessner and the content in Western Germany, Karl Arnold, Christian Democrat Premier

CHAPTER V

TROJAN HORSES

HERE are, then, in the Federal German Republic, a large number of nationalist groups, varying in size and in the extent to which they demand the restoration of the Third Reich, would be foolish to expect otherwise. Given freedom to conduct political activity, a high cost of living, considerable unemployment and, above all, the nostalgia of prosperous peasants for the favouritism with which they were treated in the Third Reich remnants of Nazism were bound to appear and express themselves But equally, democratic parties and a loyal democratic civil service and police force should be able to respond successfully to this Nazichallenge. With the experience of Weimar to draw on, the democration of Western Germany should feel confident of their ability to beat the new Nazism. But it is precisely confidence that they lack.

A good part of the reason is—and here lies the need for extreme vigilance—that the democratic apparatus in Germany has been undermined by nationalists. It is by no means certain that, in struggle against Right-wing extremism, either all the ostensibly democratic parties or all the police and civil service could be relied on. The Weimar Republic was handed to Hitler bound and gagged by a conspiracy of men who had sworn loyalty to the State they destroyed. Statesmen who were apparently democratic combined with disloyal civil servants and law officers to destroy German democracy in 1932 and 1933. The same danger exists to-day, and eit is the most serious aspect of the present situation. Some democratic parties have been heavily infiltrated by nationalists. Others have switched to more nationalist propaganda because the electorate is tending that way. Old Nazis are reappearing in the civil service and police forces. They are doing so with the knowledge and, i some cases, the support of Federal Ministers.

What confidence, for instance, can be placed in the ability of the Federal Minister of the Interior, Dr. Lehr, to deal with the resurgent Nazis when it is discovered that he staffs the new Federal police force with ex-S.S. officers, and refuses to dismiss them? Yet that is the case. Democrats and anti-Nazis are discouraged and inclined to withdraw from the political arena. This growing conviction among many of their opponents that the State neither can nor will fight for democracy when challenged does in fact represent the Trojan Horse of the new Nazis.

The Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, is open to serious criticism on this score. He refused to dismiss a senior Bonn civil servant, Dr. Globke, who wrote the official Nazi legal commentary on Hitler's Nuremberg Racial Laws. The Chancellor was at first equally stubborn about Dr. Ehrich, another civil servant who was formerly an S.S. officer and had been the Nazi Party's chief repreentative in Italy during the war. Eventually this man had to leave Bonn, but the Christian Democrats at once found him a new job [see below.] The Chancellor, possibly to avoid further public debates about the merits of his appointments, took over the portfolio of the new Foreign Ministry and refused to reveal his appointments to the new posts created. Nevertheless they could not remain a secret indefinitely, and as the names emerge the impression grows daily more disturbing. The Chancellor's behaviour as the leader of a democratic State is—at least in this respect—extraordinary. His appointments are more so.

From the old German Foreign Office (declared a criminal organisation at Nuremberg) come: William Melchers (Appointments Branch), one of whose war-time assignments was to organise the activities of the Grand Mufti's fanatical supporters in the Middle East; Dr. Kurt Heinberg (Economics and Appointments Branch) directed the East European Division of the Nazi Foreign Office, which collaborated with Himmler's R.S.H.A. in the massacre of Balkan Jews; Werner von Bargen, who, as the representative of the German Foreign Office in occupied Belgium, was responsible for facilitating the execution of Hitler's repressive measures in that country, and in particular the deportations of Jews and patriots to the Nazi death camps. These are only a few of the ex-Foreign Office officials whom Dr. Adenauer finds suitable to mould Germany's relations with the outside world. A random selection from those who were not in the old Foreign Office and so cannot claim what

passes for diplomatic experience includes the following, ex-Nazis:

Dr. Mohr, active in the deportation of Jews from Amsterda to Mauthausen.

Dr. von Rintelen, who ordered the extermination of Jew deported from Rumania.

Dr. von Grundherr, also an active "exterminator." Dr. Becker, ex-Gestapo official.

These cases and others similar to them can be multiplied length.* Comment is superfluous-indeed, inadequate.

Dr. Ehrich, whom pressure of opinion forced to leave his post Bonn, went to Lower Saxony. There he worked as campain organiser for the Christian Democrat-German Party electoral blo in the May elections. His recent history in Bonn was thought to I an electoral asset, and he was described on his own party poster as special Nazi representative in Italy during the war, and his rank (Obersturnbannführer S.S.) was added as a further attraction Observers assure us that all parties in the May elections, including the Socialists, fought on highly nationalistic platforms (e.g., The Economist, 12.5.51).

This might sound surprising in the case of the Social Democrats but whoever thinks of Dr. Schumacher, their leader, as an antinationalist is making a profound mistake. He has persistently, for instance, outbid Dr. Adenauer in intransigence on the question of the Saar. A speech made by Dr. Schumacher in Berlin in the summer of 1951 made the point that although Germany belonged to the Wes her remilitarisation would be on her own terms. It was the Socialis deputy, Professor Nölting, who introduced a motion into the Bundestag in 1950 (it was passed unanimously) calling for the enof all reparations from Germany-measures which Nölting called "economic lunacy." He said no word about Germany's obligation to repair the damage done by her aggression, nor that the level of reparations had been agreed upon in the Petersburg Agreement signed both by Chancellor Adenauer and the Allied High Commis sioners. Although no action was taken the Socialist motion, in effect, called for a unilateral denunciation of Germany's obligation to right the wrongs she committed.

If the Socialist escutcheon is marred by blots, that of the Free Democrats (F.D.P.) is practically obscured. The early promise of

this party—as a liberal, non-sectarian party of free enterprise—has long disappeared. Men like Professor Heuss, the Federal President, have been left far behind by the nationalist tide which has seized their party. Typical now are the tantrums of Vice-Chancellor Illicher, who resigned from his post on the Ruhr Authority because the other members insisted that Germany must maintain her coal reports and help share the burden of Europe's fuel crisis. Blücher talks grandly about European Union and Germany's part in it. But, in practice, any suggestion that Germany should contribute coal, inther than draw lightheartedly on the credits of the European Phyments Union, is for him a ground for resignation. We saw how the neo-Nazi European Social Movement interprets the "European Community"; there is a marked resemblance to this interpretation in Blücher's attitude and in that of the party he leads.

Recent Free Democrat activities include a press attack on the lewish trade unionist Rosenberg as an "ex-emigré" with "Eastern Asiatic principles" (Frankfurter Rundschau, 10.8.51), and an attack by one of the party's Federal Deputies on the U.S. occupation authorities for "interference" and treating the law with "supreme untempt."

"In Hesse," according to Terence Prittie, speaking on the HB.C.'s Third Programme in June, "the ex-Nazis identified themrives with the Free Democrats." In Lower Saxony, by keeping aloof from the Christian Democrats and the German Party, the Free Democrats were able to wage a sufficiently nationalistic campaign to hold their ground where the other two Bonn parties lost heavily to the Right.

Though conservative and free enterprise in its economic views, the extreme nationalism of the German Party (D.P.) is notorious. It harboured the antisemitic Hedler until the scandal became tool great. Dr. Globke (see page 49) was first taken on as a Federal Civil Servant in one of the two ministries held by German Party

It remains, however, the distinction of the Christian Democrats (Adenauer's own party) to have in its ranks the first ex-Nazi to become Prime Minister of a Land. He is Herr Bartram, for a time Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein. He headed a cabinet of which more than half the members were formerly in the Nazi Party. Its first act was to put an end to denazification in the Land Herr Bartram, who was a prosperous business man in the Third

^{*} These details are taken from an investigation made by the staff of the World Jewish Congress in Germany. They were released in New York on 29.7.51

Reich, has not changed his views to any great extent since the determination of Nazism. Here is the report of an interview he gave in 1951:

During the war membership of the (Nazi) Party was a mate of patriotism. People abroad must try to understand this. The never left the political arena during the last 20 years, which is a advantage in government.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.4.5)

This view of Bartram's is not just an exaggeration peculiar Schleswig-Holstein (admittedly a reactionary area). Drew Middleto (The Struggle for Germany) has written as follows about von Knoer ringen, the Bavarian Socialist leader, who worked in exile for the Allies during the war:

He is continually assailed by the Bavarian Party and the Right wing of the C.D.U.-C.S.U.* as a "traitor to Germany"..." In my speeches " (he says) "there is always someone who will break in and shout 'The British hanged Amery, we should hang you.''

Even the Communist Party adds its contribution of nationalism to this brew. Admittedly it is hard for Communists to take a firm line on the Eastern Territories now signed away to Poland by the East Zone Government. But they are up with the other political leaders when it comes to noisy intransigence on the Saar, attacking the "exploitation" of Germany through reparations and the Ruh Authority and, most of all, urging the need for a united Germany

Flaws in the democratic parties are paralleled by flaws in the administration in Bonn. Some of them-particularly in the new Foreign Office-have already been noted. The Manchester Guardian Bonn correspondent (7.7.51) has pointed out that in the first six months of 1951 23 ex-Nazis joined one ministry (Economics) alone This the correspondent did not find particularly surprising, since the head of the Appointments Board of the Chancellory was himself a Nazi-in fact, Dr. Globke, the author of the legal commentary on the Nueremberg Laws.

The case of the Ministry of the Interior, under Dr. Lehr, has already been mentioned. Over half of the men selected for the first training courses for officers in the new Federal Police Forces consisted of ex-Nazis. Out of 80 trainees, 22 had been S.S. officers, and five had even been members of the Freikorps (the private armies of 1918-1923 fighting in Poland and the Baltic States, out

*C.S.U. is the Bavarian version of the Christian Democrat C.D.U.

which the Nazi Storm detachments developed). Although attention has drawn to this at the beginning of 1951, nothing was done. Mather the policy continues. The Socialist deputy, Manzel, stated in July, 1951, that of the 40 men who had just undergone training present government of Schleswig-Holstein is composed of men when the senior police officers in the Federal Frontier Guard at Hanover, 11 had been Nazis before Hitler came to power. Menzel's statement was not challenged by the authorities.

What confidence can be placed in such men, or in the ministers tho are responsible for their appointment? At first the defence was that "trained" police officers had been forced to join the party under Hitler. That does not account for the pre-1933 vintages, which ne so popular, nor does it square with earlier experience where local his opposed to Federal) police forces, formed under Allied supervision, were very suitably staffed with officers who had no Nazi background.

Of course, these Federal Police Force trainees have been denazified," which means, as far as their views and their attitude lowards democracy go, precisely nothing. Certain Nazi party ranks md certain activities were declared punishable by the Allied authoriiles in 1945; subsequently the law was made more lenient. Slowly (and not completely*) sentences have been passed and served. Extremely few who were punished regarded themselves as guilty; and they are usually considered to be martyrs. Thus a "denazified" policeman is one who was a Nazi and has either been exonerated or unished. To suggest that he is in any way reformed is quite inwarranted. He may now think that Hitler was misguided; but will that make him any more effective against men who were Nazis when he was, and who may well have been friends and colleagues of his? He will be more likely to think of his enemies as those German unti-Nazis who sat on his denazification tribunal. § The same applies to the ex-Nazis who continue to flow into ministries and Government departments.

The Socialist paper, Neue Vorwärts (8.12.50), analysed the Nazi and nationalist menace as two-fold. There is first the direct approach

E.g., Dr. Schacht was exonerated by his final tribunal.

⁸ The Kölnische Rundschau (a loyal supporter of Adenauer) reported on 7.4.51 that former members of the Düsseldorf Denazification Board have appealed to their Parliamentary deputies for protection from the discrimination

practised against them by reinstated Nazis.

Das Freie Wort (20.4.51) reported that the President of the Munich Denazifiation Board, Fritz Wetzel, is now a cashier in the Bavarian State Theatre, all ther employment having been refused him. Cases of this sort are now being eported with greater frequency.

of setting up explicitly extremist parties to collect as many votes possible. And, secondly, there is the tactic of infiltrating u "bourgeois" parties, which, says Neue Vorwärts, has worked ven well in the case of the Free Democrats, and can be further develope if the Right-wing vote slumps, or the extremist parties a suppressed. So far there has been no opportunity to gauge the resupport for nationalism throughout the Federal Republic. The present situation was embryonic at the time of the 1949 election Yet it is necessary to give some rough idea of the measure of ma support behind the nationalist trends inside the ostensible democratic parties.

Here is a quotation from a United States Government report made shortly after the 1949 Federal Elections. It must not be forgotten that nationalist trends have continued to grow since then

Four million votes (out of 23 million, i.e., more than one-sixth is considered to be a liberal estimate of Nationalist strength a shown in the election. The figure represents the total vote of the German Right Party (which is now the German Reich Party), the bulk of the German Party, half of the Free Democrat vote, and half the invalid vote, which, because of its abnormal size, can be attributed to obstructionism in areas where extreme nationalish conducted campaigns against the Basic Law and advocated recourse to the invalid ballot.

Broadcasting in America, the U.S. High Commissioner for Ger many said in the summer of 1951:

There are in the German population still remnants of a total tarian ideology, a certain aggressive nationalism, and in a number of circles a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Some Ger mans are reluctant to realise the full importance of the terrible crimes of the Hitler years.

The same idea was expressed more vigorously by the leading German writer, Rudolf Pechel, who is well known for his unremil ting struggle against totalitarianism of the Left and the Right:

Our people is still suffering from a spiritual and moral disease an important statement. This is shown not merely by the number of Nazis and their fellow travellers who have appeared in official positions, government offices and the press, but by the fact that they are now in a position to carry out the restoration of Nazi ideas as they wish.

ANTISEMITISM

Those who suffered most under the Nazis scarcely dare raise their voices, especially as they meet with an aimost total lack of comprehension and sympathy. The case of the Jewish victims calls for special consideration. I shall not speak of the great contribution made by the Jews of Germany in the past. But that should nevertheless be mentioned now and then, for the people have a tendency to forget, as they have already forgotten the anti-Jewish persecutors, the extermination of the Jews in the gas chambers . . . of all the victims of the Nazi régime, the Jews suffered the most terrible

That is why we have a moral responsibility, especially towards the Jews. . . . It is our inevitable duty to do whatever we can for those whom the Nazi criminals chose as their principal victims. (Professor Carlo Schmid in a speech to the Bundestag, April, 1951)

ARLO SCHMID is the deputy leader of the Socialist Party a man of culture and humane instincts leading a party which has, apart from occasional lapses, a sound democratic record. A conference of German doctors not long ago expressed its horror at the crimes committed against Jews in the name of "science." Herr Lueth, a high official in Hamburg, has been conducting a campaign against the showing of films by Veit Harlan-producer of the Nazi film "Jew Süss"—and for this, as well as on account of his courageous call for peace between Germany and Israel, has incurred the odium of the Right-wing nationalists. Professor Heuss, the Federal President, spoke in 1949 of the need for the German people to feel a "collective shame" for the crimes of the Third Reich. In 1951, on the occasion of the Jewish New Year, he made

Professor Heuss called for a new start in German-Jewish relations. Though the past should not be forgotten, "it should not," he said, "be allowed to overshadow a new beginning. With good will, (Deutsche Rundschau, July, 1951) this new beginning should prove a further stage in the painful process of conciliation." Dr. Adenauer, the Federal Chancellor, in his own message, stated squarely: "We have to repair the wrongs done to the Jews and fight with the utmost energy those forces which

have not yet realised that intolerance and arrogance are the grave diggers of liberty." A similar tone was set in the message of the Socialist leader, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, who described the core of his party's policy in this matter to be moral and material restitution.

These individual messages were preceded on September 27 1951, by an even more important and significant official declaration of policy from the Federal Government itself. This document stated unequivocally that "unspeakable crimes were perpetrated in the name of the German people, which impose upon them the obligation to make moral and material amends." It pledged the Federal Gorman Government "to see to it that restitution legislation is justly implemented," and offered to discuss with Jewish representative and the Israeli Government ways and means of bringing about "solution of the material restoration problem in order to facilitate the way to a spiritual purging of unheard-of suffering."

Though the first official Israeli reaction was inevitably cautious there are good grounds for hoping that these pronouncements will eventually lead to fruitful results. Certainly, all concerned on the German side are to be congratulated on their far-sightedness and moral courage in putting their fingers squarely on the heart of the problem: the open admission of responsibility on their part, at the leaders of the new democratic Germany, to do what they can be make amends for the indescribable horrors inflicted on European Jewry by their fellow-countrymen. Nor would it be right to pass on without noting the fact that when the Federal Government's declaration was read out in the Bonn Parliament by Dr. Adenauer, the listening deputies rose to their feet, all of them—with the exception of the extreme Right—applauding the document. So far, so good

Yet it is not easy to forget the nation-wide campaign to repriew notorious slaughterers of Jews like Ohlendorf, Pohl, and Schmidl After a drive, the degree of whose cynicism can only be compared to its extent, the attempt failed, and these and other butchers metheir just fate at Landsberg in the summer of 1951. In the preceding months there was a tremendous agitation for the reprieve of these men on "humanitarian" grounds, conducted by representatives of all parties, including even, in some cases, Social Democrats.

Execution of their sentences had been delayed for over 18 months through persistent and skilful use by their lawyers of the right of appeal in U.S. courts. This suspense, said the agitated Germans, was inhumane; a reprieve was morally essential. It seems

improbable that hypocrisy, although possibly unconscious, has ever gone farther. These appeals to ethics and humanity in relation to men like the exterminator of the Warsaw Ghetto, the leader of the extermination units in the Ukraine or the Adjutant of Buchenwald, were surely a misuse of language for which it is hard to find a parallel. Considering the sufferings these mass murderers inflicted, death by hanging was a merciful punishment. Yet they were given a fair trial, humane treatment, and the right of appeal.

That the "Brotherhood" and Remer's supporters called their execution murder is a measure of these people's outlook. In the case of the neo-Nazis the agitation is perhaps logical enough, since for them an order from Hitler, whatever its nature, had to be obeyed and the perpetrator of the such appalling crimes were, in their eyes, therefore, right. It is easy to see why these extremists, with their deep Nazi convictions, should stage demonstrations at the graveside of the "fallen heroes" of Landsberg. The complete lack of taste of such demonstrations was also to be expected. What is incomprehensible is that supporters of the democratic parties should have, in some cases, lent their support to the campaign.

There has been little opportunity for antisemitism in Germany since the war. Hitler reduced a thriving Jewish community of over half a million to a pitiful remnant of 25,000, many of whom, aged, sick and maimed, are living on public relief. The Streichers of the Federal Republic, more cautious now than formerly, consequently have had little on which to exercise their talents, except the occasional misdeeds of individual D.P.s. More serious than this, but difficult to pin down, was the whispering campaign against the emigré Jews who came back with the U.S. Army and took up posts in the government of occupation. At one time the man most viciously attacked in Germany was the emigré German Jewish Professor, Robert Kempner, a member of the American prosecution team at the Nueremberg trials.

The usual line of verbal propaganda was (and still is) that world Jewry is wreaking its vengeance on helpless Germany through these men in the U.S. occupation forces. Bitter denunciations of "American" occupation policy often have in the minds of speakers and listeners an antisemitic meaning. Remer is extremely anti"American."

It was not until the agitation_about the men of Landsberg that it became clear how strongly antisemitism had persisted. The stream

which many foreign observers believed had almost dried up in the 1945 collapse, had, in fact, continued to flow strongly underground. In 1950 and 1951, along with the other manifestations of Nazism, a came out into the open, at first shyly, but rapidly gathering strength Remer's Socialist Reich Party was naturally well ahead. In a B.B.C talk on the party, Terence Prittie (Manchester Guardian Bonn correspondent) described how Hans Festge, a former Hauptsturnführer of Nazi days, stated on oath that "there had only been one concentration camp gas chamber in Germany. That was at Dachau, and it had done a proper job cremating prisoners who had died of old age. . . ." Mr. Prittie quoted another supporter of Remer's as saying that "the Americans had appointed tribunals composed exclusively of Jews to sentence Germans to death" (The Listener, 28.6.51).

It is additionally macabre to think of this creature on oath, talking nonsense about installing a gas chamber for those already dead.

The Sunday Times (26.5.51) had another interesting item:

The Socialist Reich Party in Celle told the Jewish Committee in the British Zone that if they were wise they would support the campaign for the release of the seven Landsberg war criminals, sentenced to death. If you do not you will find a new wave of antisemitism sweeping Germany as it did in 1933.

This particular form of blackmail has a familiar ring to those who have experienced or studied the persecution of the Jews under Hitler.

Before the Landsberg executions the Bavarian Party and the Christian Democrats called a "mercy" demonstration outside the jail. A counter-demonstration of Jewish Displaced Persons was roughly broken up by the police, while the original demonstrators chanted, "Out with the Jews, Out with the Jews." This again illustrates the effect of the Landsberg affair in releasing hitherto suppressed antisemitic feeling. While this demonstration was reported throughout the German daily press, only the American-run Neue Zeitung reported the antisemitic slogans.

An old source of pleasure to the more retiring antisemites, the desecration by night of Jewish cemeteries, has gone on steadily in Germany. Sometimes it appears to be on the decrease, only to break out again. It was this level of hooliganism (not, of course, confined to Germany) which produced in the Muenster area on April 20

(Hitler's birthday) a clandestine leaflet, decorated with a swastika, calling on the Germans to rise from their "defeat at the hands of Ahasuerus."* This same Ahasuerus figured in a text-book of religious stories issued in 1950 for the use of Catholic schools in North Rhine-Westphalia. The authorities who had sanctioned the book said that this raw piece of antisemitism had been slipped in after they had approved the proofs. Orders were given for the book to be withdrawn, but the Düsseldorf correspondent of the Frankfurter Rundschau found he could still buy it in any quantity he wished, weeks after the ban had been issued.

It would, of course, be wrong to exaggerate the significance of every small incident which has, or could have, an antisemitic slant. Sometimes these things have their origins in sheer stupidity and tactlessness. Yet this very fact is symptomatic of an attitude of mind which is still widespread.

In the light of the various declarations made in September, 1951, it is worth glancing at the progress made so far in compensating those who were persecuted and lost their property under the Nazis. The subject of the legislation and its administration is extremely complicated, and it will suffice to say here that there are three main categories:

- (i) The restitution of identifiable property seized or forcibly sold by order of the Nazis (e.g., houses, shops, etc.).
- (ii) compensation for suffering under the Nazis (e.g., imprisonment, loss of health, torture, etc.).
- (iii) restitution of financial claims (e.g., where businesses were lost, and special "loans" or "taxes" exacted).

A German expert assesses that to fulfil all their obligations under these three heads the Germans of the Federal Republic will have to find between 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ milliard Deutschemarks (very approximately £400,000,000)—though the figure is a rough estimate. It is a large sum, but when German financial experts were first called upon to work out a financial scheme of restitution and compensation they made no demur and seemed anxious to be generous. It was only later when it emerged that this would be an *immediate* charge on the German budget that resistance and obstruction began to grow. The financial experts had expected that these obligations would be

^{*} In the stream of rubbishy antisemitic literature which has for many years circulated in Germany, the name Ahasuerus has frequently been given to the mythical "Wandering Jew."

classed with Germany's multitudinous foreign debts which have rarely been paid off in the past and which few Germans seriously anticipate paying off in the future.

Generally speaking, the Social Democrats, many of whom wert themselves persecuted by the Nazis, have worked hard for adequate compensation and restitution. Up till the Bonn Declaration of September, 1951, the same could not be said of all the Federal and Länder Governments. (Berlin has been a bright and honourable exception.) More typical of a widespread feeling among Germans is Federal Minister Hellwege's attitude when he demanded that the restitution law be changed, because it was causing hardship to those who acquired Jewish properties through forcible sales. (Hellwege is the leader of the German Party.)

This speech must have given inspiration to the "League of Loyal Restituters" set up in 1950-51 with headquarters in Frankfurt-am-Main. These gentlemen are calling for compensation for those who have "suffered" under the restitution laws—in other words, those who have had to disgorge Jewish property sold at nominal prices to friends and members of the Nazi party.

In the American Zone the situation is better than in the British Zone. In the former, insistence by the occupation authorities has meant that there are now adequate compensation laws in the various American Zone Länder. But confusion still exists about restitution of losses other than of identifiable property. The situation in the French Zone is that less generous laws than exist in the American Zone are, on the other hand, generally better administered.

The obstructionists have been able to take advantage of the Auerbach affair in Bavaria. Auerbach, the Restitution Commissioner of Bavaria (a German Jew who was himself a victim of persecution) was charged with having accepted restitution claims which he knew to be false, and himself to have misappropriated the funds at his disposal. He has been relieved of his post, and a commission of inquiry was still examining the case at the time of writing. Nevertheless, restitution was for a time halted; and the German papers were using the "incident" as propaganda against restitution and, in the less scrupulous papers, against Jews. Perhaps here again it is easy to be too sensitive. But the periodicals which used to publish slimily-phrased articles implying (without saying so directly) that the black market was a "Jewish conspiracy," are again active on the Auerbach case. Moreover, to those accustomed to British

standards of justice it is particularly repulsive to see a man who, although remanded in custody, has not been found guilty of any crime, spoken of by newspapers and legal officials of the State as if he were a convicted criminal.

On restitution in the British Zone it is worth while quoting an article which appeared in the *Allgemeine* (a German Jewish weekly) on 1st June, 1951:

There are still no restitution* laws in the British Zone outside Hamburg. Schleswig-Holstein says it cannot pay and Lower Saxony maintains silence. If we understand the Lower Saxon Government correctly they are saying that the Nazis were responsible for the confiscation and exactions, and, therefore, the claimants must wait until they (the Nazis) are in power again before claiming.

If that seems unduly bitter, remember that the author describes a state of affairs six years after the war ended. War criminals who used Jewish slave labour in their factories are free and have their property restored, ex-Nazis are civil servants and Cabinet Ministers, but Jews who suffered and survived only by miracles are living on public relief in workhouses and hospitals, waiting until someone passes a law under which they may submit a claim for compensation.

Generally there has been no sign of vigorous action by the German authorities. On the contrary, it was necessary in 1951 (Neue Zeitung 13.6.51) for the U.S. High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, to state in sharp terms that whatever various people and organisations in Germany might say about it, the U.S. authorities were going to see that their original restitution policy is carried out, as it stands and in full. Similar vigour had up till mid-1951 been lacking in the British Zone. At the end of July of that year, however, the British High Commissioner wrote to the Länder Prime Ministers expressing his dissatisfaction with the slowness of restitution and his determination to have it completed.

Jews who have elected to live as German citizens in Germany since 1945, or those who, for reasons of age and sickness, could not leave, have few reasons to be happy there. Norbert Wollheim, for a time leader of the British Zone Jewish community, frequently found it necessary to make sharp criticisms of the attitude of the German authorities. He further recorded that:

The Jews in Germany to-day live in complete isolation. There is no contact or liaison between them and the Federal Government.

(Allgemeine, 13.7.51)

^{*} Other than of identifiable property—a relatively small part of the total losses.

The Allgemeine, week in and week out, gives instances of automorphisms semitic behaviour. Some of them may be unimportant in themselve but taken as a total they give the impression that antisemition among the German public is still formidable. An editorial in the paper (20.7.51) said:

There is still not enough evidence of a change of heart in Germany in the sense of a complete rejection of all forms of any semitic propaganda. We draw attention in this connection to renazification, failure to purge Nazi elements from public like glorification of men who have committed crimes against humanity insufficient protection of Jewish cemeteries . . . inadequate restitution, and an increasing tendency to delay and avoid the payment of compensation to the victims of Nazi persecution.

It is not only Jews in Germany who feel strongly on these matters. A German, Ernst John, says he is appalled to find that the word "Jew" is once more being used as a term of abuse in Germany: He goes on:

This is symptomatic of the views of certain circles in Germany, to whom the expulsion and torture of several million Jews means nothing more now than the death of a netful of fish drawn from the sea, whose agonising death they could observe without the flicker of an eyelid.

(Neue Zeitung, 25.8.51)

The case is reliably reported of a German Jew who went to live in a small Lower Saxon town where there was no Jewish congregation. A friend, replying to his inquiry, said: "You'll get on all right here if you keep quiet about being a Jew."

Sterling work has been done to bring the Christian and Jewish communities together in Germany. Its considerable value has been mentioned earlier. The Evangelical Church is doing excellently in this field. But its patient work can be undone in a moment by an incident like the following: An Evangelical clergyman in Marburg, during a sermon, called the life and death of the murderer Ohlendorf an "Easter Revelation" (Hannoversche Presse, 16.6.51). The implied parallel between Ohlendorf and the founder of Christianity must be the extreme limit of blasphemy which a Christian minister could reach.

Is it, under the circumstances, surprising to discover that Count Kurt von Blücher's book, "Know Your Germans," could find no publisher in Germany? This book develops the thesis that Hitler's sole motivating idea was the destruction of the Jews, and that the

whole of National Socialism and German aggression are derived from this single, insane obsession. The case is arguable, but German publishers, flooding the book market with the memoirs of German generals and a best-seller by Ernst von Salamon (a Freikorps officer and a self-confessed accomplice of political murders in the 1920's, such as that of the Weimar Foreign Minister, Walter Rathenau) will not take a chance with von Blücher's book. The prospects of sale are too slim for this urbane, closely reasoned attack on the Nazis and antisemitism, with its concomitant plea for tolerance and democracy. Likewise, the German edition of the deeply moving Diary of Anne Frank," sold under a thousand copies.

One or two of the Nazi leaders tried at Nuremberg appear genuinely to have repented the part they played in Hitler's Reich. Baldur von Schirach, the Nazi Youth Leader, said at the trial:

It is my guilt, and I must bear it before God and the German nation, that I educated German youth for a man whom I thought irreproachable, but who was a murderer millions of times over.

If one of the highest Nazi leaders could admit the wholesale murder of innocent people, why cannot men who mostly claim to have opposed Hitler admit it, too? If they cannot, then their claim to our respect is less than that of one of Hitler's closest associates.

N estimating the chances of Western Germany's survival as a democratic country, it is important to know what action the democratic elements have taken to combat the neo-Navi menace.

Speaking on August 22nd, 1951, the Federal Chancellor said it was

an organisation calling itself the Free Korps of Germany had also set itself the task of reviving National Socialism. . . The Federal Government is firmly resolved not to tolerate such endeavours. For this purpose we need the co-operation of all really democratic forces.

In May he had said:

(The Times, 23.8.51)

It must be plainly said that the most serious task of the Federal Republic is to have done with the leavings of the Third Reich.

(The Times, 9.5.51)

What happened in the three months after the Chancellor had stated the "most serious task"? Little enough for a British newspaper to comment: "Sharp action is required, and it would help if he said how he intended to do it" (*The Star*, 23.8.51). The comment is perhaps somewhat harsher than the facts merit.

The Federal Government has actually introduced a law to restrain, with fines and imprisonment, treason and action likely to endanger the Republic. Dr. Lehr (Minister of the Interior) has announced that he has prepared a case for banning the S.R.P. under the Basic Law, to be presented to the Constitutional Court. This has now been set up. It remains to be seen, therefore, how soon, and how vigorously, Dr. Lehr's words will be translated into action. Though, under another section of the Basic Law, the Federal Government has prohibited the para-military organisations of the Socialist Reich Party, at the time of going to press, the S.R.P. still

continues to exist and spread its evil propaganda. The most effective action against the S.R.P. has been taken by the *Länder* Government and the local authorities. With their much smaller powers they have prohibited public meetings of the party, the public appearance of many of its speakers, and have forbidden its leaders to go to certain areas where violence has resulted from past visits.

Action has been taken by mayors and town councils in various parts of Germany. The North Rhine-Westphalian Government (Christian Democrat-Centre coalition) has given wide powers to its police force to prohibit meetings and speakers of the Socialist Reich Party. Similar action has been taken by the governments of Bavaria and Württemberg-Baden.

The advantages of banning a party like the S.R.P. may well be disputed. It may thrive underground; its worst elements may infiltrate other parties; or the ban may degenerate into an undignified pursuit of a series of "new" parties, all concealing the identity of the old. On the other hand, the reactions of the S.R.P. leaders to talk of banning show that they did not expect it to do them any good. Nevertheless, only harm can come from repeated threats which are not in fact carried out. Ever since the question of banning was first raised before the Lower Saxony elections, the Federal Government's failure to act has been a source of ridicule and harm to democracy.

"WAITING FOR THE EARL OF CHATHAM"*

Dr. Lehr said in May, 1951, echoing Dr. Adenauer:

... the Federal Government will not repeat the mistake of the Weimar Republic and extend the same tolerance to the S.R.P. as was enjoyed by the Hitler movement.

This was after the election. Before the election Lehr had taken part in an unedifying farce. Having said in Bonn that the article of the Basic Law under which the Reichsfront and Reichsjugend had already been banned could be applied to the S.R.P. itself, he then went on to say that action must wait until the Constitutional Court

*"Lord Chatham with his sword undrawn, Is waiting for Sir Richard Strachan; Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em, Is waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

(Anonymous rhyme referring to the failure of the expedition against Walcheren in 1809.)

was set up. In the meantime he urged the Lower Saxony authorities to take action (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27.4.51). They replied through Dr. Danehl (an official of the Lower Saxony Ministry of the Interior) that only the Federal Government was in a position to ban the S.R.P. (This was true; but it was possible for the Land Government to have taken other action.)

As soon as the Federal Government had taken action, Dr. Danehl said, the Land Government would follow suit (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.4.51). Dr. Lehr, apparently stung by this, was quoted by Die Welt as saying: "If Lower Saxony is not going to do anything, then I shall take action." He set out by car from Bonn to Celle (a Lower Saxony town, which is a centre of S.R.P. activity). His impression of the subversive nature of the S.R.P. was confirmed by the visit, he told the Tagespiegel. Such was the terror practised by the party, he went on, that at first he had found it impossible to get a garage for his car! (This in a small overcrowded town full of correspondents and agents on the eve of an important election.)

The visit concluded with a long talk between Dr. Lehr and the Lower Saxony Premier and his Minister of the Interior. The result? "Dr. Lehr is believed to have said that Bonn proposes to wait for a decision by the Lower Saxony Government" (*Die Welt*, 30.4.51). At the time of going to press the S.R.P. is still a legal party.

Is it surprising that democrats in this area were depressed and even nervous? Such behaviour is bound to bring democracy into contempt. The probable reason for this farce is that both the Bonn Coalition and the Social Democrats, who are dominant in Lower Saxony, were hoping for tactical advantages by not taking action against the S.R.P. Herr Kopf (the Socialist Premier) was said by some observers to want to keep the S.R.P. in being until after the election, so that it would (as, indeed, it did) draw off votes from his Right-wing opponents. On the other hand, the leader of the Free Democrats in Bonn, Herr Schaeffer, had said on April 25th, 1951, that the S.R.P. should not be banned until after the election. Whatever his real reasons were, this meant that at least one partner in the Bonn Coalition was sufficiently opposed to strong action to say so publicly in disregard of the policy stated by Dr. Lehr.

Intrigues and unprincipled electoral juggling of this sort are reminiscent of the Weimar Republic and are a measure of the immaturity of the whole fabric of German democracy. If they go on there will be similar results. The "co-operation of all really democratic forces" that Dr. Adenauer calls for will not be achieved unless there is less talk and more action. If a ban is decided to be the best method against the S.R.P. it must come *now*, although it is already extremely late and the party has had plenty of time to prepare.

WHAT MUST DEMOCRATIC GERMANS DO ?

When German democrats discuss among themselves the best way of combating the neo-Nazi menace, a large part of the argument is frequently taken up with attempts to answer the question: What has brought about the rise of the neo-Nazis? It would, of course, be useful, but it is certainly not possible to give a satisfactory answer within the scope of this little book. Moreover, the answer or answers would be very controversial, raising questions of responsibility of the Allies, the German parties, the present economic policy of the Federal Government, and so on. To ask first for an agreement on the root causes of neo-Nazism is to split any German democratic front before it is formed, and to divide its supporters abroad. The democratic elements agree that the neo-Nazi threat is there. Public opinion in Britain and other Western countries would feel more confidence in the stability of the German Federal Republic if there were signs that those elements are prepared to combat the threat on the simple, fundamental issues of liberty and respect for human individuality.

A word of caution is necessary. Certain interested groups in Germany are not above exploiting the neo-Nazi threat in order to gain concessions, loans, and favours from abroad. One observer has quoted an industrialist as saying: "Leave us our steel and our coal—then we shall see to the rest and nothing will happen." Western Germany has been treated with great financial generosity by Britain and the United States, and, within their capacities, by other Western powers. The result is that in spite of unemployment and the housing shortage, the general economic outlook is far from gloomy. The argument must not be permitted that Germans have some sort of a "right".to go Nazi, if they are unemployed or living in camps.

As was pointed out earlier, neither the unemployed nor the refugees have given their main support to the S.R.P.; its best supporters are relatively well-to-do peasants. Other countries have endured economic hardships without going fascist. Germans must

learn to do the same, and not believe that they are entitled to rush to the nearest dangerous political adventurer every time they feel an economic pinch. Hitler throve when the West was making economic and political concessions to his predecessors by cancelling Versailles reparation payments. This mistake must not be repeated, however loudly certain Germans insist. Aid to Germany, such as the Marshall Plan and the European Payments Union credits, must depend strictly on her economic needs as a member of the Western European community of nations and not on political claims that, without aid, the country will give itself up to Herr Remer and his friends.

German democrats must realise that Western opinion would be impressed only if they were to regain their courage and themselves take the initiative against the neo-Nazis. Rudolf Pechel has written:

The Federal Government as well as some Länder governments pretend not to hear the warnings of that section of the press which has the courage—and to-day it requires courage—to denounce the return of the Nazis.

(Deutsche Rundschau, July, '51)

TO-DAY IT REQUIRES COURAGE!

Dr. Barou, of the European Executive of the World Jewish Congress, has described how his genuinely democratic German friends had been as good as shut out of public life (Allgemeine, 20.7.51). Mrs. Eva G. Reichmann, in an account of a journey she made in Germany in 1951 circulated by the Wiener Library, reports that the men who prosecuted Hedler for his brutal slanders against them were actually on the defensive in court, trying anxiously to prove that resistance to Hitler was not treason. She also reports democrats asking "What are the Allies going to do about it?"—an attitude implying the worst sort of defeatism.

German democrats must also realise that there is no time to lose. If men of the calibre and distinction of the Federal President Heuss were to take the lead in creating a nation-wide movement embracing all democratic parties and organisations aimed at defending democracy against the growth of the new Nazis, an important step would be taken.

At the lowest levels the trade unions, churches, and other interested bodies could surely call together committees based on a simple programme of measures to strengthen democracy. Their

activities could be envisaged as two-fold: first, to institute inside the professions (especially teaching, journalism, and the Civil Service) an active policy against neo-Nazi propaganda and to prevent unregenerate Nazis holding key positions; and second, to secure in localities anti-Nazi coalitions on matters of local importance. It is here, at the level of the ordinary individual, that the danger is greatest; but it is also where hard, enthusiastic work can bring about the best results.

On a higher political level the issue of whether there is to be an effective response to the Nazi challenge could be given first priority in the affairs of the Federal Republic, while the development of a politically vocal ex-soldiers' movement with nationalist leanings should be faced with courage and determination. Rank-and-file members of the democratic parties could thus be persuaded of the need for anti-Nazi unity, thereby forcing the chief democratic leaders in Bonn to forget their personal differences and to combine on this vital issue. If the Federal Government were to show its determination to combat Nazism not only by words but by deeds, the mass of ordinary Germans would be spurred to a firmer faith in the democratic way of life, while those abroad who now must watch the German political scene with growing anxiety would in this manner have cause to hope that the German people have turned their faces away from the road which led to Auschwitz.

Meanwhile it is not enough for us abroad to cheer from the side-lines. Without appearing to interfere or to be grinding national axes, all aid possible must be given to the so far inert democratic forces in Germany. Co-operation from trade unions, religious organisations, and youth movements on an international level can be of tremendous help. Visits by men of standing in various fields to Germany and return visits by Germans would assist in giving heart to German democrats. The sponsored visits organised by the Foreign Office, the Central Office of Information, and the British Council could well be developed on a larger scale. Educational institutions, which have had a particular interest in Germany's reconstruction, should make special efforts at this stage when the work they did just after the war is so gravely threatened.

What the German democrats need, whether they are workers or professional men, Conservatives, Liberals, or Socialists, are contacts with people in Western Europe which will give them advice, and, above all, moral support. We in Britain, especially, must understand that it is easy to lose courage in Germany. Democracy has collapsed there before. And now the German democrat has foreign troops at his elbow, neo-Nazis under his feet, refugees round his door, and the Iron Curtain perhaps not more than an hour or two along the road. He needs all the courage that we and anyone else can give him. There is still time; and the anti-Nazi forces, if they are rallied now, can defeat the enemies of democracy. But the Nazi menace in Germany, against the background of a worsening world situation, is a problem of the most extreme urgency.

CONCLUSION

THE picture of the Federal Republic which thus emerges from this study is of a fundamentally healthy political, economic and social structure which, nevertheless, is far from being completely stable. It is certainly an encouraging sign that Germany's infant democracy has withstood so well the initial strains to which it was subjected—the threat of Communism, backed by the military might of the Soviet Union, the Four-Power discord in the period of military government, and the tremendous problem of physical postwar reconstruction. These strains are still present, but the Federal Government has given every sign that it is perfectly capable of overcoming them. From this emerges a certain danger: namely, that Bonn, no less than public opinion in the West, may have a tendency to grow complacent with regard to an equally grave threat to the Republic's well-being.

There is no doubt that Nazi beliefs and habits of mind have survived the collapse of Hitler's Third Reich. Equally, the unprejudiced observer cannot but be struck by the extent to which Right-wing extremism has developed once again into a serious political force. There is considerable evidence that Nazism and extreme nationalism have even survived in quarters which are ostensibly democratic. Parties, various kinds of groupings and associations, and even departments of the Federal Government itself, to which the Western Allies look as protagonists of the democratic way of life, prove to be tainted with the creeds of the Third Reich. These unobtrusive trends are the more dangerous for being less obvious than the neo-Nazi groups.

Opposed to these dangerous factions and currents is the main stream of West German democratic life. Backed by the considerable force of the rejuvenated German trades union movement, there are elements which recognise both the evil and insanity of the Nazi record and are constantly on guard against any signs of an attempt to re-create a Fourth Reich. Many of the staunchest democrats in Germany to-day have suffered side by side with European Jewry in concentration camps, and certainly have no illusions about the sump of horror which National Socialism created. This is a factor to be

kept in mind by those in the West who sometimes tend to lump all Germans together as unregenerate and hopelessly infected with the seeds of Nazism. The more these German democrats feel a lack of sympathy in the West towards their efforts, the more must the task of consolidating the Federal Republic appear to them an uphill one, and the more will the weaker among them be discouraged in the face of difficulties. In a crisis the absence of sympathy of this kind might even cause the weakest elements to give up the struggle altogether.

But sympathy is not enough. The struggle for democracy, likthat for peace, is indivisible, and public opinion in the West must give active support and encouragement to the anti-Nazi forces in Germany. The West is committed to accepting the Federal Republic as potentially a full partner in its body politic. It expects Germans to make the defence of Western democracy their business. It is thus only logical that democrats in the West, whatever their country, should likewise accept the responsibility for defending democracy in Germany.

Western public opinion need not fear that its sympathetic interest in, and even criticism of, German internal affairs will be badly received. Those to whom we must look for the task of strengthening democratic ways in Germany would, on the contrary, appreciate our concern in their struggle.

If the anti-Nazi effort inside Germany and outside could be co-ordinated more, there is hope that the unsteady course towards democratic consolidation will be continued. But that hope should not be exaggerated. The neo-Nazi disease has gone far and, in recent months, alarmingly fast.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, at that time Foreign Secretary, stated in May, 1951, that he considered the Federal Government capable of dealing with any internal threat to the constitutional order, and that he felt confident that Bonn would take appropriate action. In the light of what has happened since Mr. Morrison's remarks were made, public opinion in the West is entitled to be less confident in the ability and willingness of the Federal Government to take appropriate action. It would be foolish, of course, at this stage to recommend direct intervention by the Western Powers, particularly in view of the Washington Declaration. Yet, there is certainly room for pressure and exhortation through the medium of the Western High Commissioners. In the past Dr. Adenauer has shown himself

amenable to this form of approach, and there is no reason to suppose that he would not show himself equally so now.

The main object of such an approach might reasonably be expected to be that the Federal Government should initiate a campaign against the extreme Right with the same vigour as it has already done against the Communists, and that it should unequivocally state that it neither welcomes nor encourages the incursion of organised ex-Servicemen into political or quasi-political fields.

In Germany as elsewhere the political pendulum has swung far since 1945. The increasing sharpening of the cold war has, among other things, resulted in a certain tendency among parties, not always entirely disinterested, to label those who draw attention to the neo-Nazi revival as Communists and fellow-travellers. The facts revealed about new Nazi groups in this booklet, and the strong suspicion held in many German quarters that some of their leaders, at any rate, are not above coming to a working arrangement with the totalitarians of the Eastern Zone, should help to expose such views. Too frequently they are expressed by people whose professed dislike of Stalinist dictatorship is merely a cloak for their own totalitarian aims.

It should be clearly realised that the neo-Nazis are in no sense allies against Communism. Even before the leading neo-Nazi group—the Socialist Reich Party—was founded, Drew Middleton, senior correspondent of *The New York Times* in Germany, wrote:

"It is high time that the United States, Britain and France awoke to the danger, the very real danger, that the rise of the right-wing in Germany represents the best chance of a Soviet-German rapprochement . . . anti-Communism is not enough."

(The Struggle for Germany, Allan Wingate, 1949)

The new Nazis draw their inspiration direct from Hitler's Germany, and those who learn from the lessons of history will keep firmly before them the memory of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. They will remember that it was this pact which signalled the unleashing of the German armies against Poland and later against the West. Similarly, it should not be forgotten that the history of the ill-fated Weimar Republic is dotted with examples of co-operation between the Nazis and Communists against the democratic parties. What happened before can well happen again.

The inclination to disregard these lessons of history is usually based on the quite false assumption that Nazism is founded on a

co-ordinated set of ideas. The appeasers of Nazism believe that they know what these ideas are and imagine, therefore, that they can forecast and even guide Nazi actions. The truth remains what II Its principles, amorphous and hard to comprehend, are surely 1951 had seemed to be hardening. limited to unbounded megalomania, unbounded hate, and sacrilegious self-worship. Within the framework of such an ideology there is room for infinite opportunist twists and turns. That is why the calculations of all appeasers, including those of the Kremlin, have always ended in disaster.

The present-day disciples of Adolf Hitler, as this booklet shows, policy. Nearly every statement of policy made, for instance, by leaders of the Socialist Reich Party can be balanced by another contradicting it. Those who wish to emulate the appearers of the '30s will thus find themselves engulfed in a morass in the same way as were Chamberlain and Daladier, on one side, and Stalin on the other.

overwhelming. The only problem which can justifiably be considered is whether or not it is politically wise to ban them. But even here the problem has, in a sense, already been solved, for the Federal Government has itself threatened to ban the S.R.P. If it is to main tain its authority it cannot avoid making good that threat. If Bonn fails to carry out its threat no amount of sophistry, however carefully thought out and expressed, will prevent many well meaning Germans from drawing the lesson that German democracy is weak in the face of a totalitarian threat from the Right.

Moreover, the argument that banning a political party will merely drive it underground applies less to Germany than to most European countries. Germans voting for the neo-Nazi groups, as public opinion polls frequently reveal, seem to have very little idea of the policies or even the leaders of the parties for which they vote. To ban a party for which he has voted may well, in that case, make a German examine it more closely to see why the Government decided to make it illegal. Most Germans to-day, as in the past, remain almost painstakingly law-abiding and do not court illegality as well as one of principle, for outlawing at least the leading neo-Nazi group—the Socialist Reich Party. It is true that some of its

votes might then go to other Right-wing parties. In a tactical sense, however, this might be quite useful, since it would add to the confusion and jealousies which already bedevil the extreme Right, always was—that Hitlerism does not embody any coherent policies and thus make fluid once again a situation which in the course of

Similarly, consideration should be taken of the fact that Remer and Dorls are, above all, in the market for powerful financial backers. Unless they can recruit, keep the cadres of a private army and propagandise on a large scale, they are not a worthy object of financial charity. All these activities would be impossible if a ban were put into effect. For Germans have little tradition of illegal follow their master faithfully also in their lack of any systematic political struggle, and what they have is largely Communist. No underground developed in spite of Goebbels' exhortation in 1945. Nor is there any evidence of any widespread anti-Communist resistance in the Eastern Zone. Banning of political groups was a weapon which, when used by the Weimar Republic, was frequently effective.

Over and above the organised neo-Nazis two other main dangers The case for action against the neo-Nazi groups is undoubtedly threaten the future of the Federal Republic. The first of these is anti-Semitism. It has been shown that the denials of anti-Semitic feelings sometimes expressed by the S.R.P. leaders need not be considered with any seriousness, since they have frequently forgotten those denials in other public pronouncements. But anti-Semitism is, in any case, not limited by any means to direct adherents of the neo-Nazis. The evidence available leads one to the reluctant conclusion that though a great deal of excellent work is being done by the leaders of democratic parties, the Churches, and other organisations, the disease implanted in the German people under Hitler's tutelage has gone far and deep.

Public declarations, such as those of President Heuss, Chancellor Adenauer, and Dr. Schumacher, are to be welcomed and encouraged in every way, and likewise the efforts of Herr Lueth and those who support him. It is, however, patent that public statements of themselves are insufficient. The German authorities, and specially those concerned with the education and upbringing of the young, will have to devote very much more attention than they have done so far to the problem of eradicating this poisonous fungus eagerly for its own sake. There is, therefore, a good tactical case of in the psychology of their people. They can rest assured that to some degree the potential stability of the new German democracy will be judged according to their success in this field.

The second main problem to be faced is that of the political activity which has recently been shown at an increasing tempo by the League of German Soldiers. This organisation has now a nation wide network, with 229 district associations, and some 1,300 Ortsgruppen, or local cells, which enable it to penetrate even to remote hamlets in the countryside in order to muster support. It embodies a number of organisations appealing specifically to former members of various formations of the Wehrmacht. The rallies held in 1951 by some of these old comrades' associations have laid bare the unpalatable fact that too frequently their membership is in the control of politically ambitious ex-officers, some of whom are unrepentant ex-Nazis, and many of whom can be classed as their collaborators.

These are the elements upon which the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation must rely if it is to obtain German troops for the European Army. The danger that these elements will assume a guise not radically different from that of Nazi sympathisers is perhaps more clearly appreciated inside West Germany than outside. Here, surely, is fruitful ground for collaboration between German Democrats and those whose task it is to organise the defence of Western democracy. The Democratic parties of the Federal Republic will fail to render the League of German Soldiers politically harmless only at their own peril; and the governments of the North Atlantic Treaty Powers must face the fact that if such collaboration were to go by default, they might well find themselves in the intolerable position of relying on a corps of totalitarian-minded janissaries to defend the democratic ways and institutions of the West.

The time for action is clearly now, while discussions about the future German military contribution to N.A.T.O. are under way. Public opinion in the Western countries has the right to demand from its leaders that this question be given the highest priority. It is surely not unreasonable to demand that when the time comes to select the leaders of any new German army the political record and affiliations of any German ex-officers should be as closely scrutinised as their military records. The plea that such a scrutiny presents very considerable difficulties must be expected—and dismissed. We owe it to the memory of the ten million non-combatant victims of Hitlerite blood lust to make the effort.

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